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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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20 November 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

GORBACHEV DISPLAYS DIFFERENT POSTURE DURING HIS SOFIA VISIT

Paris LE MONDE in French 27-28 Oct 85 p 3

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachov returned to Moscow on Friday 25 October after a brief visit to Bulgaria during which he stressed the necessity of strengthening the economic ties between the USSR and the socialist countries. While praising Bulgarian-Soviet relations, the Soviet Communist Party general secretary made several remarks that could be taken for references to the deficiencies of the Bulgarian economy, about which the USSR ambassador to Sofia had already complained this summer. Indeed, Moscow has several times criticized Bulgaria for not delivering to it products of satisfactory quality, and has hence threatened to reduce its own deliveries, specifically of raw materials. For his part, Bulgarian Communist Party leader Todor Zhivkov, the doyen of Soviet bloc leaders, said that the Bulgarians "were trying to overcome (their) weaknesses and to combat the violations of socialist life and discipline."

Mr Gorbachev also presented in Bulgaria a very different image from the one he had shown to the Western public during his recent visit to Paris.

Sofia (REUTER)--Those who expected to see Mikhail Gorbachov repeat this week in Bulgaria the performance that he gave in Paris wasted their money.

In Sofia, Mr Korbachov returned without difficulty to the behavior typical of Kremlin leaders visiting a brother country of the Eastern bloc--a faceless silhouette in the fast-moving convoy of limousines. Bulgarian television did show him on Thursday chatting with workers of a machine-tool factory, but the Soviet leader did not take any walk and gave no press conference. Western newsmen, almost courted in Paris, had to face the facts: in Sofia, they had to keep their distance.

This was his third trip abroad since becoming head of the Soviet Communist Party in March; the first two being to Poland and the latest, at the beginning of the month, to France. The success of his Paris visit in respect to public relations had aroused hope of new surprises in Sofia.

The "Gorbachov style," as presented there, above all convinced observers that it is not the Kremlin's immediate objective to ease the East European protocol. In order to deduce what was happening, foreign correspondents were once again reduced to reading between the lines of a few official statements.

Nevertheless, the press devoted entire pages to Mr Gorbachov's visit, while extolling Soviet-Bulgarian friendship. Yet nothing better illustrates the difference in approach between the Eastern and Western papers than the role accorded to Mrs Raissa Gorbachov. Her elegance and interest for fashion earned her several big headlines in Paris. In Bulgaria, the wife of the Kremlin leader filled the anonymous role that is the lot of those close to apparatchiks.

9920
CSO: 2900/13

BULGARIA

U.S., NATO STRATEGY TOWARD USSR CRITICALLY EXAMINED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 Sep 85 p 4

[Special article written for 'Narodna Armiya' by Major General Lev Korzun, Master of Military Science, "The Chief Myth of the Psychological War"]

[Text] Imperialist propaganda makes no little use of false myths as a weapon in the psychological war. The chief of these is unquestionably the lie of the aggressive nature of the socialist countries and the lie that all the misfortunes of the modern world allegedly stem from the USSR and the Warsaw Pact.

The western ideologists set the stage for this immediately after the rout of Hitler's fascism and Japanese militarism. In the last three decades, i.e. after the creation of the Organization of the Warsaw Pact on 14 May 1955, the sharp edge of the psychological attacks has been directed against this defensive alliance of socialist states. At that, the troubadours of imperialism do not confuse themselves with the fact that the Organization of the Warsaw Pact was created in response to the aggressive military and political block, NATO, which was created as early as 1949. Moreover, in taking pain to present the North Atlantic pact as a purely defensive organization, they are trying to dress the wolf in sheep's clothing.

Evidence for the strange ways in which the term "defense" is understood is provided by the directive worked out by the Pentagon on the instructions of President Reagan on American armed forces for 1984 to 1988. In this document, their particular task is to be ready "to destroy socialism as a social and political system". At that, "The USA must achieve superiority and be in a position in a short time to oblige the USSR to curtail its military actions under conditions dictated by the USA". The most immediate plans, therefore, call for "decapitation of the structure of military and political authority in the Soviet Union, its nuclear and conventional forces", and destruction of "the main branches of industry that determine military potential".

How can we stop ourselves asking "If this is defence, then what is aggression?"

The more so, since the administration in Washington does not hide the fact that it is betting chiefly on the sudden nuclear strike. And the strategic forces alone of the USA can fire 12,000 nuclear warheads, each with a capacity

of 50 kilotons to 10 megatons. By 1990, their number is expected to increase to 20,000. Strategically [positioned] toward the USSR and its allies are the 108 launching pads for the Pershing-2 rockets and the 464 medium range fleet rockets which the USA is now rapidly installing on the territory of a number of member countries of NATO.

And we must not exclude from the calculations those 400 nuclear charges that England and France may use even now. In its "white paper" the English government points out without ambiguity that the English nuclear forces are capable of inflicting such damage as the Soviet leaders must have in mind. Provisions are made to enlist other countries with nuclear weapons in a coordinated plan to inflict blows on the USSR and other member countries of the Warsaw Pact. As has already been announced in the press, the general plan for directing the USA's nuclear weapons, which was adopted in December 1984, includes approximately 40,000 targets, situated within the territory of the socialist countries.

Chemical weapons, including binary war supplies, are being intensely produced and piled up in Western Europe too, not forgetting conventional weapons and general-purpose conventional forces.

At present, the strength of the NATO armed forces is approximately 5 million men. Included in that number are more than 2 million men and officers in the land forces in Europe. Including the reserves, the strength of the NATO armies is more than 9.5 million. They dispose of more than 20,000 tanks, a large quantity of aeroplanes, artillery, antitank devices, etc.

That is "defense" in American, and in NATOese.

We cannot fail to remark that Hitler Germany began the second world war with a much, much smaller war machine. It is characteristic for the military and political leadership of the USA and NATO to attempt to preserve for itself the right to turn every conflict into a full-scale war. Article 6 of the NATO regulations stipulates that even the most insignificant incident may be recognized as an "armed attack" and become a cause for war. American intervention in Vietnam and Grenada clearly demonstrate how such causes are created by the American military and the ruling circles in the USA.

Naturally, under these conditions, the USSR and other countries of the socialist commonwealth are obliged to take the necessary steps to secure their reliable defence. But, as the declaration of member countries of the Warsaw Pact of 15 May, 1980, states: "We do not have, we have not had and we shall not have any strategic doctrine other than that of defence". The declaration "The preservation of peace and of international economic cooperation", adopted in June 1984 during the high level meeting in Moscow of the member countries of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance, confirmed the resolution of the socialist countries to work for preservation of peace and the recovery of international relations in the economic sphere.

The policy of the USSR and its allies is united on questions of the struggle for peace and the strengthening of the defensive capability of the socialist commonwealth. This unity gives it its strength.

Even the former Commander in Chief of the joint forces of NATO in Europe, A. Haig, later to become the Secretary of State of the USA, was obliged to acknowledge the approximate balance of power that exists at present. And we cannot accuse him of incompetence in these matters. In spite of this, when submitting the third edition of the Pentagon's unreal, erroneous and libellous brochure "Soviet Military Power" in April 1984, the Minister of Defence of the USA, K. Weinberger, once more asserted that "the Soviet Union is striving for world supremacy" and "is constantly increasing its armaments in order to strike a blow at the West". When the false allegations of the "Soviet military danger" and the aggression of the Organization of the Warsaw Pact are refuted, they try to present this in the West as "communist propaganda". But it would hardly occur to anyone to call the former Minister of Defense of the USA, P. Macnamara, a communist propagandist. Yet he himself announced in an interview with "The Los Angeles Times" in April 1982: "We exaggerate the power of the Soviet strength and underestimate our own strength and therefore considerably overestimate the difference between them. There is nothing new in that. It has been going on for many years." Later on he told of a memo written by him in November 1962 to President Kennedy, in which he pointed out that the generals of the US Air Force were inclined to support a development in the armed forces that would guarantee the USA the potential for first strike. And as he himself admits, today he is afraid to read this document. What now frightens Macnamara became the official policy of the present American administration. And the chief myth of the psychological war is being used as a smoke screen.

Facts will out. And they convincingly refute the falsehood of the imperialist myth of "the Soviet threat of war" and demonstrate whence comes the real threat of war to the world.

12907
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BULGARIA

WAYS OF REDUCING WASTE IN USSR ARMY CITED AS EXAMPLE

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 Sep 85 p 4

[Article by Ivan Denisov, Guards Colonel, Commander of the Guards Kantemirov tank division "Yuri Andropov": "(Let us learn from the Soviet Army) Thrift--the concern of everyone"; passages in slantlines rendered in boldface in text]

[Text] Our party and the people demonstrate real paternal concern that the army has available everything necessary to reach the required level of readiness for war. To achieve this goal, such resources are made available as the interests of the country require. Economical use of the people's money is therefore a topical issue.

Apropos of this, I should like to dwell on /one aspect of battle training/, to which generally little attention is paid--the economic aspect. How can we achieve maximum results with minimum loss of time and material resources? Unfortunately, it seems that we rarely ponder this topic. And perhaps that is why training time, fuel and military supplies are sometimes squandered unnecessarily. In recent training, the operations of two tank companies were poorly organized. Judging by the amount of fuel consumed, one would have thought that they had been hunting "the enemy" for several days before inflicting defeat. The instructing officer was well trained in every respect. But is the skill of protecting the people's pennies really superfluous?

I have noticed that when the question turns to economies, everything is reduced to consumption of fuel, electrical power and water. That is important, of course. But life requires that we look at the issue from a wider perspective.

Recently we reported on the results of combat training in the units and subdivisions. It turns out that the best results are achieved when training time is used most effectively or, I would say, most economically. In the subdivisions, they do not have to revert to past topics to retrieve the lost average.

In the past year, economies in the division reached a significant level. But that does not mean that all is well in each unit. There were earlier losses that have still not been overcome. As he reported this to me, the quartermaster concluded: "On the whole, the service is managing its assigned

tasks successfully.". It turns out that we are losing, wasting state property, and cheerfully reporting good work! Neither the provisions depot nor the fuels and lubricants service were able to avoid losses.

Recently I had to meet with two majors. Mainly through their fault we had to pay a fine for truck demurrage. In the units in which they serve, plans were not fulfilled for collection of metal scrap and meat production in the relief economy. In their attitude toward work, inertia and lack of initiative were often observed. For such individuals, you cannot say that they have a keen sense of the pulse of time or that they are drawn by what is new and progressive.

/But a Positive Experience Is At Hand/

Officer A. Marchenko serves in one of the units of the division. There, plans for production of meat and vegetables have been fulfilled three-fold. In this unit serve the best chief of the provisions depot, the best commander of the household troop, the best mess-room chief and the best chef-instructor. They are all graduates of the communist A. Marchenko.

When I talk of economies and thrift, I particularly want to emphasize the role of the warrant officers in the subdivisions. With a good manager, everything looks good and is fit for use.

In every unit there are untapped resources for economies. Nor are they few in our own unit. The division has a good training base. But not everything is used wisely. For example, work with the driver-mechanics of haulage equipment is rarely organized. Yet recently we had to repair the tank road. For 3 weeks the drivers worked only on the haulage equipment. And with what result? The audit showed that the quality of training had not been diminished in the least. But considerable resources had been saved.

There are no trivial issues when it comes to economies. We showed some interest, for example, in how the garrison service for everyday necessities worked. It turned out that it did not spare the time of the officers and advisors. Purchases could only be made during work hours after you left the work for which you are responsible. We decided to change this system. Now the store closes two hours later, and this allows people to take care of their household affairs at a convenient time.

Life persuades us that the greater the organization in the training process, the greater the economies in combat training. At the basis of frugality is the high responsibility of each of us to the work assigned, professional skill, progressive methodology, a sense for the new.

12907
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BULGARIA

POLITICAL EDUCATION OF YOUTH IN TURKISH AREA DESCRIBED

Sofia POLITICHESKA PROSVETA in Bulgarian No 8, 1985 pp 11-18

[Article by Anastasiy Donchev, Razgrad Okrug BCP Committee first secretary: "Mandatory Party Task; Class-Party, Patriotic and International Education of Youth in Razgrad Okrug"]

[Text] The class-party, patriotic and international upbringing of the young generation is the permanent strategic task of the Razgrad Okrug BCP Committee. This can be easily explained, for young people play an important role in the life and development of our okrug. They are our present and future. The further accelerated socioeconomic and cultural development of the okrug largely depends on the way the young generation is raised and educated and realizes its potential.

The BCP Central Committee Theses on Work with the Komsomol and Young People of 1967, the 1978 Letter by Comrade T. Zhivkov to the Komsomol Central Committee, his theoretical developments and the practical approaches formulated after the 12th Party Congress are an effective program for the communist upbringing of the young generation.

With the daily help of the okrug BCP committee, during the 8th Five-Year Plan the okrug Komsomol organization achieved a number of positive results in its efforts to increase and emphasize the direct contribution of young people to the accelerated development of the Razgrad Okrug. Their active participation in updating material and technical facilities was their worthy repayment for the continuing and systematic party concern for young people. The real contribution of the youth to the okrug economic sectors increased. There are 8,200 young people in industry, 1,294 in construction and 1,025 in transportation, 804 in trade and 4,528 in agriculture. Young people are making a particularly significant contribution to the structure-determining okrug economic sectors -- chemical-pharmaceutical and silicate-porcelain industries, kaolin extraction, machine building and agriculture. No production enterprise or labor collective exists today in the Ludogorie where the presence of young people is not tangibly felt.

Under the direct guidance of the primary party organizations, the youth labor collectives are developing as a school for communist education and for shaping new qualities and skills and high socialist organization of labor under the

conditions of the application of the economic approach and its mechanism. Last year alone, 78 of a total of 112 youth labor collectives in the okrug reported the ahead-of-schedule implementation of their plans. Participation in the all-youth initiative "scientific and technical progress and leading experience -- a territory of youth daring" contributes to the steady enhancement of the role of the okrug Komsomol organization in economic intensification. The efforts and creativity of the young people were developed in the struggle for achieving higher and durable results in the mastery and application of the peak scientific and technological achievements and improving production quality. With this the okrug Komsomol organization earned the right to be the worthy representative of the okrug party organization among young people in the Ludogorie.

Taking into consideration the need for structure-determining sectors to develop on an accelerated basis, and guided by party criteria, the okrug BCP committee assigned the okrug Komsomol committee the responsible task of sponsoring the development of biotechnology, highly intensive grain production and highly productive animal husbandry on the basis of standardized feeding. The programs which were formulated to this effect and the work which was done substantially contributed to upgrading the contribution of young people to the development of these sectors and to enriching the accomplishments of the okrug Komsomol organization.

The class-party and patriotic duty is also manifested in the Komsomol's sponsorship of the development and application of yet another 27 new technologies in the okrug's structure-determining sectors, with economic benefits in excess of 4.5 million leva. Following the example of the okrug party organization, the okrug Komsomol committee developed into a positive practice contacts with the State Committee for Science and Technical Progress, the Central Institute for Scientific and Technical Information, the Avangard Society, the Rationalizations Institute and other organizations and institutions, for the purpose of enhancing the scientific and technical standards of youth developments. A total of 513 topics were developed within the framework of the 12th National Exhibit of Youth Technical and Scientific Creativity and the 50 youth clubs in the okrug, 311 of which were applied with total economic results of almost 4 million leva. The okrug Komsomol organization has been awarded three gold labor medals for successes achieved in the movement for technical and scientific development of youth and dozens of developments were awarded gold badges in recognition of their high scientific and technical standard.

The young working people are making a substantial contribution to the long-term and lasting successes achieved by the okrug in agricultural production. They farm nearly 37 percent of the arable land, take care of 19 percent of the livestock and produce about 38 percent of the overall okrug agricultural output. Komsomol sponsorship of the highly intensive production of corn on 40,000 decares of irrigated areas and reaching an annual output of 5,000 liters per fodder-fed cow, assumed last year, was a particularly useful method for concretizing the young people's contribution. Despite the adverse 1984 weather conditions, the high targets were met. At the 7th Fertility Rally, the okrug Komsomol organization was awarded the Order of the Bulgarian People's Republic, first class. We are proud of the G. Dimitrov Youth Grain-

Fodder Brigade in Trapishte village, the G. Ivanov Youth Grain-Fodder Brigade in Mudrevo village, the Yu. Gagarin Youth Grain-Fodder Brigade in Khlebarovo city, the Malchika Youth Collective of the cow farm in Sevar village, and the hundreds of young mechanizers and livestock breeders who were presented with high state awards for record-setting results in grain production and animal husbandry output during the 7th and 8th Five-Year Plans.

Currently, the okrug BCP committee is setting for young people even more important tasks in conquering new territories in the intensive development of agriculture. The primary party organizations are focusing their intention on improving the class-party and patriotic upbringing of rural youth. The obshchina party committees show great concern for upgrading the education and skills of agricultural workers. Efforts are being made to have well-trained biologists, agronomists, zootechnicians, veterinarians, agrarian economists and other higher education specialists. We are not satisfied with the achievements of young men and women who graduate from agriculture secondary vocational-technical schools and tekhnikums. In this area, we try to promote more specific joint work among education staffs, Komsomol organizations and managements of agroindustrial complexes and to ensure the better solution of problems of the training and accomplishments of secondary school graduates.

Under the guidance and with the help of the okrug BCP committee, the okrug Komsomol organization is actively encouraging the young people to enter the area of material production with good professional skills and training for purposes of efficient social accomplishments and with a clear ideological-political stance.

The highest possible mastery of knowledge and science, and scientific and technical accomplishments and leading experience in building socialism is, above all, the class duty of the thousands of young farmers in the Ludogorie area. The party committees and organizations try to ensure the primacy of ideological work in promoting deep convictions and tuning in the young generation for a revolutionary way of thinking and acting. Today the battlefield for youth action is the accelerated building of developed socialist society, in which the ideological and moral positions of the individual become materialized.

Ideological and political education work remains a major trend in promoting the class-party upbringing of young people. The okrug BCP committee clearly realizes that the most important and basic factors are shaping a Marxist-Leninist outlook among the young. This is determined not only by the scale of the scientific and technical revolution and the complex tasks of building socialism, which are directly related to upgrading communist consciousness and activity. The raising and upbringing of young people is taking place under circumstances governed by acute ideological and political struggle in the international arena. The class enemy relies a great deal on the ideological and moral corruption of the young. Aware of the nature of the renaissance taking place in our country and of their helplessness in stopping it, Western imperialist circles, Turkish reactionary propaganda above all, are concentrating on young people.

That is why Marxist-Leninist education is ascribed a primary role in educational work. The leading Komsomol cadres are upgrading their political training at the Marxism-Leninist University of the okrug BCP committee. Periodical training is offered to Komsomol cadres and to newly accepted young communist party members by the interokrug party school. More than 1,800 Komsomol activists are included in the party education system and, all in all, 93 percent of the total participate in organized political education. The organization and quality of Komsomol education are the permanent focal point of attention of okrug, obshtina and plant party committees and primary party organization buros. Concern is concentrated above all on the selection and training of propaganda cadres. About 80 percent of Komsomol propagandists are party members implementing a party assignment; 166 of them are party and economic managers.

The content of Komsomol education is consistent with the interests and needs of the individual youth strata and is oriented toward problems of class-party, patriotic and internationalist upbringing. The subject "The Bulgarian People's Republic -- Our Socialist Homeland" is studied in 320 out of 372 working youth units. Following the example of the party education teams, by the end of this school year a number of Komsomol teams held practical and theoretical science lessons on "Revolutionary Thinking and Acting Is an Objective Need of Our Time," and final classes on topics related to the renaissance process.

Problem-topic cycles and developments for the national political course as well as lecture propaganda are aimed at asserting a class-party approach and Bulgarian socialist awareness among the young generation of Bulgarians who were once coercively Turkicized.

The political information system for okrug young people is also being affected. The okrug party organization has established the practice of holding uniform policy days together with party, trade union and economic managers with the active participation of leading Komsomol activists. Komsomol groups for topical political and ideological information are doing successful work as well.

They combine the profound study and proper Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the heroic past of the Bulgarian people and of our Ludogorie area with socialist construction and the prospects of a communist future in the work done by the okrug party organization for the class-party, patriotic and international upbringing of young people. All significant processes, phenomena and events in the age-old history of Bulgaria and of our native area and in the contemporary development of the country and the okrug are given a profound interpretation. All of this was manifested in participation in the "Memory" international relay race and the "Tale of the People's Memory" movement. Extensive collecting and research activities are under way to preserve the historical memory of the people in circles for area study and ethnography, archaeology and folklore. More than 30 school and museum collections have been created or expanded.

Historical, linguistic and ethnographic studies of the Razgrad area for the period between the 15th and 19th centuries are extensively used in educational

work with young people, students in particular. They bring to light the Bulgarian family roots of the population which has regained its Bulgarian names.

The initiative "Active Fighters -- Friends of Komsomol Societies and Pioneer Detachments" was born on the occasion of the celebration of the 90th anniversary of the Razgrad party organization and with the direct participation of the okrug BPK [Fighters Against Fascism and Capitalism] Committee. Every year more than 950 meetings with party veterans are organized in the okrug.

Activities related to the preparations for and celebration of the 40th anniversary of the 9 September socialist revolution in Bulgaria, the 40th anniversary of the creation of the Septemvriyche Dimitrov Pioneer Organization and the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism and Japanese militarism were saturated with a high ideological charge. The link and continuity among past, present and future was the base for emotional youth manifestations.

Our socialist contemporaneity is extensively used in educational work. The young people are systematically informed about the socioeconomic development of the okrug and the country; visits to socialist projects, evenings dedicated to the native area, etc., are organized.

Purposeful work on the military-patriotic education of the young generation is being done in the okrug to prepare the young people to defend the homeland. Particularly useful in this respect are classes in basic military training and military field exercises at the Khan Asparukh camp. Every year the camp is attended by some 2,000 young people. Good work was done by Pioneers and Komsomols in the review of marching songs and drill and in the clubs for military-applied disciplines -- airplane and ship modeling, marksmanship and radio.

Peace, friendship and solidarity initiatives are contributing to the international upbringing of the young generation. Considerable attention is paid to the sources of international upbringing and the intensification of fraternal love for the CPSU and the USSR and the other socialist countries. In this respect, the natural centers for political organization work are the 80 International Friendship and "Young Friends of the USSR" clubs. For more than 15 years Razgrad Okrug has maintained fraternal ties with Orel Oblast and Apsheronskiy Rayon in the USSR. We also maintained friendship ties with Vas District in Hungary and Neubrandenburg District (GDR). The exchange of groups of Pioneers and secondary school students in labor and recreation camps in Orel, Apsheron and Neubrandenburg and Szombathely and reciprocal visits by youth artistic collectives contribute a great deal to the intensification of friendship with Soviet young people and the strengthening of feelings of internationalism. Such links are a source of inspiration, creativity and an inexhaustible source for the internationalist upbringing of our young people.

The youth labor collectives of the 14 enterprises working for exports to the Soviet Union actively joined the initiative "Komsomol Guarantee of High

Quality Goods for the USSR." As a result, so far no single claim relative to such goods has been filed.

The highly patriotic movement "The Hero Is Always in the Ranks" is widespread in the okrug. One hundred and twelve youth brigades have been named after Soviet and Bulgarian revolutionaries, heroes and leaders in the communist movement and are working on the basis of this initiative.

The okrug party committee pays great attention to counteracting manifestations of bourgeois ideology. Increasingly, the operative Komsomol detachments for struggle against violations of socialist law and order are asserting themselves as an active method for preventive educational work among Komsomol organizations in the struggle against ideological subversion. A positive role is played by the political studios of youth houses and clubs, involving the participation of journalists from the Bulgarian radio and television. The struggle against reactionary Western propaganda is focused on exposing capitalist reality, particularly in bourgeois Turkey, which is trying to speculate on the feelings of some working people and youth in our okrug.

The work of the okrug party organization for a class and patriotic education of the young generation is acquiring new dimensions under the circumstances of the revival processes for clarifying the national self-awareness of a part of our population, taking place in Ludogorie. The restoration of Bulgarian names of our compatriots became an impressive manifestation of the reinterpretation of the past, the fateful facing of historical truth and the return to their native Bulgarian roots. The renovation processes in the okrug are taking place in a bright and calm atmosphere. They are the legitimate result of the comprehensive work done by the party for the communist upbringing of the population, the youth in particular. The Komsomols in the Ludogorie realize the class-oriented, revolutionary and progressive nature of this process and its historical determination. They were among the first to regain their names and, through personal example, to prove their loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and their political, patriotic and civic stance.

The okrug's party leadership is well aware of the fact that extensive, comprehensive and persistent work among all age groups and strata of this population lies ahead. The okrug Komsomol organization has a substantial share in it. Our Komsomol cadres are aware of their responsibility for the further intensification and development of renovation processes and the need to promote communist convictions and faith and high political standards and ideological maturity among all young men and women.

Under the conditions of the renovation processes, the task of the okrug party bodies and organizations is to perfect overall ideological work and intensify its aggressive and militant nature. The party organizations pay particular attention to individual work with the young and to the need for a differentiated approach to the various youth categories and groups. Mastery of the Bulgarian language as a factor in shaping a Bulgarian socialist consciousness and the struggle against conservatism in clothing and against religious vestiges in the way of life of the adult population play an important role in this area. The atheistic upbringing of young men and women

is aimed at broadening their knowledge and enriching their experience and involving them in active atheistic propaganda.

The shaping of a Bulgarian socialist national self-awareness in the young people with restored names is a class problem and a manifestation of the highest possible patriotism and proletarian internationalism. Today the task of every party member is to engage in aggressive and uncompromising struggle for winning over every single young person.

It is entirely clear to the okrug party leadership that the new quality change in the mentality and way of thinking cannot be the result of political and ideological activities alone. That is why the okrug is engaged in planned and systematic activities aimed at resolving a number of socioeconomic problems related to the proper territorial location of production forces in the individual settlement systems, the further advancement of the working and cultural environment, etc. The processes currently taking place in Razgrad okrug are part of an overall comprehensive renovation which covers the complete life reproduction cycle of this population segment.

Youth will play an important, I would even say primary role in the implementation of the broad socioeconomic program. There is virtually no area or aspect of okrug sociopolitical life in which a great deal of trust is not placed in the young generation. The best representatives of the youth are selected in the Komsomol bodies. Our main concern is to increase the party nucleus among secretaries of Komsomol organizations and societies. Presently 66 percent of organization secretaries and 62 percent of society secretaries are young party members. The large number of Komsomol members holding leading positions in the okrug's political system is an indicator of the efficient realization of the potential of the young generation in social life: 256 are people's counselors, 356 are members of leading trade union bodies and 259 are members of leading bodies in the Fatherland Front. The established practice is to train, educate and promote to leading positions young activists loyal to the party's cause and able to resolve the great problems of the okrug. In recent months an increasing number of young specialists with restored names are being recruited for leading Komsomol work and as production managers. These are people who have established a reputation in the labor collectives, have proved their political and professional qualities and are putting to use new production developments.

Comprehensive efforts are being made to develop, reconstruct and equip specialized youth facilities. The okrug has 35 modern youth clubs. The construction of Pioneer and youth homes will be undertaken this year in Zavet city and Gara Samuil. The comprehensive development of a youth material base which will satisfy the increased needs and interests of young people, is being undertaken on a comprehensive basis in settlements with a larger number of young people.

The okrug party organization directed its efforts to the profound study of the resolutions of the BCP Central Committee February Plenum and the new remarkable theoretical formulations and practical approaches related to the implementation of the scientific and technical revolution in our country. We consider the resolutions of the February Plenum a strong class weapon in the

struggle against capitalism, which will have its specific dimensions in the okrug's socioeconomic development. This means that during the 9th Five-Year Plan many socioeconomic problems related to the education, culture, trade and satisfaction of a number of social and spiritual needs of the working people and the youth will be resolved. It is thus that Razgrad Okrug will leave behind, once and for all, the status of okrug lagging in its socioeconomic development.

It is clear to us that this tremendous socioeconomic program can be implemented above all through scientific and technical progress and the active participation of the young Ludogorie generation. It is equally clear that the mastery of scientific and technical progress is already becoming an essential feature of communist upbringing and that class-party education and the development of new moral virtues should be based on readiness and ability to participate in the solution of scientific and technical problems. Henceforth one of the basic criteria in assessing the combat capability of the obshchina party committees and organizations will be the extent to which the local youth will become involved in the implementation of the scientific and technical revolution in the okrug. The question of the education and skills of the young people and their labor upbringing and training and achievements in life will become increasingly important to us. That is why the party bodies and organizations are doubling their efforts in promoting a qualitatively new labor standard and identifying and developing the creative capabilities of young men and women ever more fully.

We are facing major tasks, such as the computerization of the okrug economy and the mass utilization of computers in agroindustrial complexes. During the next five-year plan, activities for the further development of some promising biotechnological trends will be encouraged on a broad front; practical work will be done in gene engineering involving industrial microorganisms. A substantial contribution will be made by the machine building industry in the automation of biotechnological and chemical processes in industry, the development of a number of industrial technologies in kaolin extraction and in the overall technological retooling of the okrug's economy. All of this must involve the participation of the young generation. There could be no worthier or more responsible test in class-party and patriotic education than this one!

The balance of the Razgrad party organization for the 7 years which followed the publication of Comrade T. Zhivkov's letter to the Komsomol Central Committee is optimistic. New qualitative changes were attained in the implementation of the expanded measures and topical programs for work with young people which were formulated at that time. Under the guidance of the okrug BCP committee, today the responsibilities of party, state, economic and public bodies and organizations in the upbringing of the young people in a spirit of class-party and patriotic duty and their training and social realization are defined more accurately and more specifically. However, we do not relax with such positive results. A number of problems remain unresolved and weaknesses and shortcomings occur. We are not satisfied with the standards of party leadership of some primary party organization's guidance of Komsomol societies. The qualification structure of young performing cadres in the okrug is inconsistent with the requirements of scientific and technical progress. A certain segment of young workers in construction and industry,

who move from place to place, remains outside the range of systematically organized ideological influence. The control-regulatory function of ideological education conducted by the okrug Komsomol organization remains insufficiently effective.

The okrug BCP committee realizes that a tremendous amount of work lies ahead in the implementation of the tasks set by Comrade T. Zhivkov in his report note to the BCP Central Committee Politburo on further improvements in work style and methods. It is in the light of this document that we submit to the attention of the okrug Komsomol organization, under this new angle, some problems related to the full social realization of the young cadres and the new social position of the Komsomol and its functions as a collective guarantor of the social and individual growth of the young builder of a mature socialist society. Comrade T. Zhivkov's report note is a very timely reason for undertaking a profound discussion within the okrug party organization, analyzing the specific condition of the problems, bringing to light our collective and individual weaknesses and taking the necessary measures for their elimination. In this discussion, we particularly emphasize the need for the adoption of new criteria in assessing the contribution of every young person to the upsurge of our socialist homeland.

The young people have the example of the moral behavior of the party members in conducting their entire activities and life. Our responsible task remains for the young people to see in the party member the moral model of the man of the future. With their personal example in labor and sociopolitical activities, mastery and daring application of the achievements of technical progress, innovative searches and inflexible loyalty to the revolutionary and labor traditions of the party and the people, the party members in Razgrad okrug are making their contribution to raising a young worthy replacement who tomorrow will assume total responsibility for the destinies of this blossoming area of our socialist fatherland.

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BULGARIA

SOCIALIST COUNTRY'S ADHERENCE TO CSCE PRINCIPLES STRESSED

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[Article by Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs: "Helsinki and the Cause of Peace and Cooperation in Europe"]

[Text] Ten years have passed since the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was held in the Finnish capital, with the participation of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada. The Final Act, which was drafted through their joint efforts, laid firm foundations for strengthening peace and security on the continent, intensifying reciprocal understanding and developing cooperation among countries and peoples. The principles which were adopted on relations among states, which became a kind of "detente code," were also the starting point for future initiatives in the interests of peace, security and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world. The name of the Finnish capital became synonymous with the hope that our planet may be saved from total nuclear catastrophe.

During the past decade the socialist countries and all peace-loving forces in Europe dedicated tremendous efforts to the implementation of the lofty principles of the Final Act. The progress which was made and the positive experience acquired in this respect have been encouraging. However, the international situation, which has worsened by the fault of the most aggressive imperialist forces, is not only causing legitimate concern among the nations but, more than ever before, is forcing them to face the fatal choice: either making decisive progress along the path earmarked in Helsinki or continued aggravation of international tension and the intensified arms race, each step of which threatens the future of mankind.

The choice of socialist foreign policy is categorical: the USSR and the other members of the socialist community are doing and will continue to do everything possible for the triumph of the spirit of Helsinki and for strengthening peace, security and cooperation among peoples in Europe and throughout the world.

This choice is not accidental. It is common knowledge that the fundamental principles of the Helsinki Final Act were those of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, which were formulated for the first time in history by V. I. Lenin. They became known to the world with the birth

of the first socialist state and its first legislative act, the Decree on Peace, and for the past 68 years have determined the nature and purpose of its foreign policy and international activities. Throughout that time the Soviet Union has formulated numerous initiatives aimed at strengthening security and developing cooperation among peoples. Lenin's ideas of peaceful coexistence and mutually profitable cooperation were at the base of all Soviet suggestions on guaranteeing European security. Let us mention the Soviet proposals submitted at the Genoa Conference after World War I, those of the 1930s and in the subsequent years, at the interallied conferences and talks among the members of the anti-Hitlerite coalition and the numerous initiatives of the USSR calling for collective European security in the postwar period. The specific ways leading to this objective have varied. However, the essence of each suggestion has remained unchanged: peace in Europe can be strengthened only through the collective efforts of all European countries regardless of their social system, on the basis of peaceful coexistence and identical security. The other socialist countries as well have supported this concept and acted in that direction after the world socialist system was established.

Particularly indicative in this respect is the development of the idea of collective security in Europe in the postwar period.

Forty years ago, when the final volleys of the war died out and the smoke of battles scattered, the peoples of Europe, tortured by fascist barbarism, hoped to lead a peaceful and tranquil life. No true peace came about, however. What came was a surrogate known as the "cold war."

Profiting from its dominating position in the capitalist world, based on its economic and financial power and, particularly, its temporary monopoly of the atomic weapon, American imperialism, in conspiracy with the ruling Western European circles, violated the Potsdam accords and took practical steps for the implementation of its aggressive purposes. As early as December 1945, President Truman announced the claims of the United States to "world domination." In his March 1946 notorious Fulton speech, W. Churchill called for a "crusade" against the USSR and the people's democracies. The "Truman Doctrine," and the "Marshall Plan" were started in 1947. The "Western Alliance" military-political group was created in 1948 and the aggressive NATO bloc was hatched in Washington in April 1949. Its clearly defined purpose was to "push out" with military force and, in the final account, eliminate the developing world socialist system.

The socialist countries countered this aggressive imperialist course with their peaceful policy, which combines a firm rebuff of the warmongers with constructive suggestions on creating a collective security system in Europe. In February 1954 the USSR suggested to the councils of ministers of foreign affairs of the four great powers to discuss problems of guaranteeing European security and the basic principles of a European collective security treaty. After the Paris agreements were signed, opening the way to the militarization of West Germany and its inclusion in aggressive military blocs, the same year the USSR and the other socialist countries once again called for the creation of a collective security system with the participation of all European countries regardless of social or governmental system.

Since in the course of discussing the Soviet proposals, the representatives of the Western powers claimed that the North Atlantic Treaty was defensive and was not directed against any country or group of countries, in its note to the governments of France, Great Britain and the United States, dated 31 March 1954, the Soviet government expressed its readiness to discuss the question of the participation of the USSR in this treaty. The Western countries hastened to reject the Soviet proposal, referring to the fact that the NATO bloc was an "association of like-minded states."¹

The idea of collective security was not abandoned by the socialist countries even after the signing of the Warsaw Pact, which followed the ratification of the Paris agreements. Furthermore, this idea is included in the preamble to the Warsaw Pact itself,² as well as in its Article 11, which reads as follows: "Should a collective security system be set up in Europe and should a European collective security treaty be concluded to this effect, toward which the contracting parties steadily aspire, the present treaty will become invalid on the day the European treaty becomes effective."³

On the other hand, should the remaining countries on the continent join the Warsaw Pact -- a prerequisite to this effect offered by its open nature -- this pact would be able to perform the functions of a European collective security treaty as well.

Problems of European peace and security have been the center of attention of all sessions of the Political Consultative Committee (PCC) of the Warsaw Pact and of a number of meetings among the heads of parties and states of the countries participating in the pact. A number of constructive proposals were formulated at such meetings, aimed at strengthening security and broadening cooperation among European countries.

The declaration adopted at the very first meeting of the PCC in Prague, in 1956, emphasized that peaceful conditions for the development of the European nations could be secured best with the creation of a collective security system in Europe, which would replace the existing military groups. A suggestion was made to this effect that a respective agreement be concluded, initially among some European countries (including the USSR, Great Britain and France) and the United States.

Along with proposals on European measures, the Warsaw Pact members considered and allowed for the possibility of disbanding the two military political groups before and independently of achieving an agreement on a European security system. A specific suggestion for the simultaneous disbanding of NATO and the Warsaw Pact was included in the 5 July 1966 PCC Declaration. The simultaneous closing down of their military organizations was suggested as a first step towards the elimination of a military confrontation in Europe.⁴ This suggestion has been steadily included in the documents issued at PCC conferences in 1970, 1976, 1980 and 1983. It was also included in the communique issued at the summit meeting of party and state leaders of Warsaw Pact members of April 1985, at which the protocol on extending the pact was concluded.

Although the NATO countries rejected all such suggestions and took the path of accelerated arms race, in the nuclear area in particular, the Warsaw Pact members did not end their active struggle for attaining the historical objective of establishing a system of international relations and collective obligations which would effectively guarantee European peace and security. They drafted more than 10 proposals on the conclusion of multilateral and bilateral nonaggression treaties and the nonuse of military force by the countries belonging to the two military political groups. The assumption of such obligations does not, in itself, mean the creation of a collective security system but could be a major step toward its establishment.

The coordinated efforts of the socialist states gradually led to the full and definitive acceptance of European territorial and political realities which had developed as a result of the victory over fascism, the Yalta and Potsdam decisions and postwar European developments. "The road from the Austrian state treaty to the bilateral treaties concluded between the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR, on the one hand, and the Federal Republic of Germany, on the other, to the quadripartite West Berlin agreement was long and hard," the 15 May 1982 Warsaw PCC anniversary declaration reads. Despite the obstacles erected by the forces of imperialism and revanchism, this road was traveled, a number of dangerous sources of tension were eliminated, a good foundation was laid for reciprocal trust among countries in Europe and their common responsibility for the fate of European peace and security was increased.

Tremendous efforts were necessary on the part of the socialist countries, as well as a great deal of time, before a turn from cold war to detente in Europe could take place, crowned by the adoption of the Helsinki Final Act. Let us recall that the idea of a European security conference was formulated for the first time as early as 1965 at the Warsaw Pact PCC meeting, which was held in Warsaw.⁶ The Warsaw Pact members laid the beginning of active diplomatic activities for the implementation of this idea in Bucharest in 1966, where an extensive program for strengthening peace and security in Europe was adopted. Specific preparations for the conference were suggested at the 1969 Warsaw Pact Budapest appeal; the fundamental principles on which relations among European countries should be based were presented in the Prague PCC declaration "For Peace, Security and Cooperation in Europe, in 1972."

Therefore, holding the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe itself is the exclusive merit of the socialist countries; the signing of the Final Act, 10 years ago, marked the proper completion of their efforts for introducing in international relations the principles of peaceful coexistence and cooperation among countries in Europe.

As Comrade Todor Zhivkov said from the high rostrum of the historical meeting in Helsinki, "The Bulgarian People's Republic which, together with other European socialist countries, became the initiator of the conference, highly rates the remarkable results which were achieved and which are the result of the common efforts of the participants in this forum. This is a great victory, a victory for anyone who chooses peace over war, peaceful cooperation over confrontation and creativity over destruction. This is a victory for all. No one gains an advantage and no one is harmed."⁷

The experience gained from the victory which followed the Helsinki Conference has been rich in lessons and conclusions concerning the future of relations among European countries and, therefore, peace throughout the world. What are the most essential among them?

Above all, we can justifiably claim that the principles governing relations among countries, included in the Final Act, and the ways earmarked for the development of their economic and cultural cooperation pass their practical test entirely. The conversion of these principles and trends into a law of international life is a basic prerequisite for strengthening peace and security in Europe and intensifying mutually profitable relations among European countries in all possible areas.

At the same time, practical experience indicates that despite the great significance of the principles and concepts included in the Final Act, it is particularly important to strengthen them or, as we usually say, to materialize them in the practice of international relations.

In the period which followed Helsinki, and particularly during the first years, a number of new constructive elements appeared in international life, proving the existence of possibilities of real improvements in the international situation, reaching agreements among countries with different social systems on a number of complex foreign policy problems and reducing mistrust and increasing contacts and cooperation in various areas. Relations among European countries began to assume a stable and comprehensive nature. They included regular high-level contacts, political consultations and initial confidence-building measures. The fabric of economic, scientific and technical and cultural cooperation became stronger and tourist relations and exchange of information increased considerably. A number of treaties, agreements and other documents were initiated, reflecting the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. This is illustrated by the many accords concluded among socialist and Western countries after 1975, in which the parties expressed their willingness to implement the principles and concepts of the final act.

Through practical accomplishments the socialist countries proved their loyalty to the principles and concepts adopted at Helsinki. In a number of documents issued at party and state forums held by such countries, broad programs for strengthening European peace, security and cooperation were formulated. The peace programs adopted at CPSU congresses played and continue to play a tremendous mobilizing role. They were accepted by the other fraternal socialist countries as their own programs for action in strengthening peace and security in Europe.

All fraternal socialist countries approached from constructive positions the meetings in Belgrade and Madrid, held by representatives of the participants in the European process.

Our country participated actively and constructively in the subsequent forums, held within the framework of the European process. It is implementing precisely and consistently the principles and stipulations of the Final Act. It is engaged in active international efforts to strengthen peace and security in Europe and throughout the world and expanding and intensifying economic,

scientific and technical and cultural relations with the European countries. The peaceable, good neighborly and constructive policy of our country in the Balkans, aimed at making this area an area of peace and understanding among Balkan countries and peoples, and a nuclear-free zone, plays a particular role in such activities.

The socialist countries, which are persistently struggling with dedication for the implementation of the Helsinki agreements, have never considered them a final objective but a starting point in the struggle for developing new relations among all countries in Europe through the creation of an effective collective security system. They have always supported the concept that although the Final Act does not represent such a system, it could be an exceptionally important step in that direction, assuming that all signatories accurately observe the principles and stipulations it contains.

The aspiration of the members of the socialist community to ensure the further strengthening and intensification of detente was also manifested in a number of proposals aimed at extending this process to the military area as well. Proposals on military detente were formulated as early as the 1976 PCC Bucharest Warsaw Pact Declaration "On New Horizons in International Detente and Strengthening Security and Developing Cooperation in Europe" as well as in the 1976 PCC Moscow Declaration. A new important proposal was formulated at the May 1979 meeting of the Committee of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Warsaw Pact Members, in Budapest, which called for convening a conference on the political level, with the participation of all European countries, the United States and Canada, to discuss practical measures in the area of military detente.⁸ This led to the holding of the Stockholm conference on measures to strengthen confidence and security and disarmament in Europe.

From personal experience the European peoples realized the advantages of detente, which created favorable prerequisites for strengthening peace and security and opened very promising prospects for peaceful cooperation. They began to live with the hope that the results of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and the cause of Helsinki, which had been attained at the cost of such great efforts and struggle, would be protected and multiplied.

Unquestionably, had the Western participants in the European conference observed the responsible and consistently constructive approach to the implementation of the Helsinki agreements, strictly observed by the socialist countries, the process of strengthening peace and security in Europe would have developed aggressively and stably. Detente would have become increasingly fuller and more extensive as well as irreversible.

As the development of events indicated, however, the foreign policy course of the Western countries, the United States in particular, did not lead in the least to the application of the principles formulated in Helsinki in their full volume and extent. Initially, some of them tried to make use of detente in the implementation of their imperialistic objectives. They tried to interpret the Final Act the way the devil would the Bible. After the failure of these attempts, the most aggressive imperialist circles tried to stop the detente process and even to turn it back. They gradually abandoned their

half-hearted and inconsistent participation in it and openly adopted an aggressive course in international relations.

U.S. President Ford himself demonstratively dropped the use of the very term "detente." Under Carter, attacks mounted against detente assumed the nature of a purposeful campaign accompanied by a sharp increase in U.S. military expenditures and power. Under the American pressure, the Western European NATO countries became increasingly involved in the arms race. Only 3 years after the Helsinki Conference, that bloc assumed the obligation mandatorily to increase the annual military budgets of the member countries by no less than 3 percent. A broad 15-year program for increasing and modernizing NATO armaments was adopted.

The Reagan administration did not simply follow the course of its predecessors, aimed at achieving military superiority and pursuing a policy "from a position of strength," but gave this course an even more aggressive and dangerous turn. Detente was totally abandoned and the confrontation with the socialist countries was given the nature of open official policy. A new "crusade" against socialism was proclaimed. A particularly stressed and explosive situation was created in Europe with the deployment of new American medium-range nuclear missiles in some Western European countries, the purpose of which is a first nuclear strike against the socialist countries. This marked the beginning of a new phase in the arms race. Disarmament talks were blocked. Furthermore, the United States intensified its subversive activities against existing agreements in this area, using most unseemly pretexts for the purpose. It adopted and is implementing unprecedented military programs which call for updating and strengthening all armament components, starting with the "nuclear triad" (ground, air and sea strategic nuclear forces), going through neutron and binary weapons and improvement of conventional armaments, equaling their destructive power with that of nuclear weapons, and leading to the latest trend: the militarization of space with the proclaimed "star wars" program. The adventuristic militaristic policy pursued by the United States with the support of its most servile NATO allies is aimed at achieving military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact and ensuring the dominating position of the United States throughout the world.

The enemies of detente and peaceful cooperation are trying to undermine the detente structure wherever it happens to remain. Not only actions aimed at economic and other constructive ties between capitalist and socialist countries are being taken but efforts are also being made directly to interfere in domestic affairs and to slander the socialist states. The desire to revise the foundations of the postwar order in Europe, codified with the joint decisions made by the allies in the anti-Hitlerite coalition at Yalta and Potsdam, paid for with the lives of millions of people, an order which has secured peace for the European countries for the past 40 years, is being manifested with increasing clarity in the policies of the United States and some of its NATO allies.

This openly militaristic course taken by the current U.S. administration and NATO is in drastic contrast with the spirit of Helsinki and is undermining the very foundations of detente in Europe. The abundance of peaceful statements and arguments "for strengthening defense" and the protection of democracy,

freedom and human rights, with which the political vocabulary of the leaders has been particularly sprinkled of late, and the use of means of influencing Western public opinion cannot conceal the fact that the United States and a number of NATO countries are trying, in practice, to turn Europe and the world back to a new expanded edition of the cold war and balancing on the brink of nuclear catastrophe.

The USSR and the other members of the socialist community are countering this militaristic course pursued by the most aggressive imperialist forces with their policy of strengthening peace, security and cooperation in Europe and throughout the world. They are confident that in the present circumstances, worsened by the fault of imperialism, decisive and major practical steps must be taken to lift the nuclear threat and to restore and continue detente. Such steps alone would enable the peoples to live under conditions of confidence, good neighborly relations and cooperation and guarantee the very existence of mankind.

Guided by these considerations, the fraternal socialist countries formulated a broad yet entirely realistic program for strengthening European security, lifting the threat of nuclear war, reducing armaments and promoting disarmament. This program organically combines disarmament with actions of a political and international legal nature and confidence-building steps. What are the more specific features of this program?

In the field of disarmament, the members of the socialist community suggest the following:

Ending the stockpiling of new nuclear armaments in Europe and radically reducing the already deployed and stockpiled nuclear weapons until the continent has been entirely freed from nuclear weapons, both medium-range and tactical;

Creating a nuclear-free zones in the Balkans and Northern Europe and a nuclear-free corridor in Central Europe as steps leading to the conversion of the entire continent into a nuclear-free zone;

Freeing Europe from chemical weapons;

Freezing and reducing military expenditures of Warsaw Pact and NATO members;

Reciprocally reducing armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

The political and international legal actions suggested by the Warsaw Pact members include:

The assumption by the nuclear powers of the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, an obligation which the Soviet Union has already assumed unilaterally;

Concluding a treaty on the reciprocal nonuse of force and maintaining peaceful relations between Warsaw Pact and NATO members.

In the area of confidence-strengthening measures, the fraternal socialist countries also suggest:

Considerably limiting the scale of military exercises;

Informing the parties about large-scale military exercises of land, air and sea forces and major troop movements and transfers;

Exchanging observers in large-scale military exercises.

Taking into consideration the positive experience gained in the application of the confidence measures stipulated in the Helsinki Final Act, the socialist countries suggest taking measures of greater significance and broader scope leading to a decisive reduction in military activities by both military and political groups and increasing confidence among participating countries.

Most of the suggestions formulated by the socialist countries were submitted for discussion at the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building and Security Measures and Disarmament in Europe. In submitting them to the attention of the conference, the Warsaw Pact members proceed from the conviction that the current aggravated situation in Europe demands not simply rebuilding the lost confidence but also making the type of decisions which would eliminate the threat of a nuclear conflict and would contribute to the overall improvement of the political climate on the continent. Only thus would the conference achieve its highly responsible mission and justify the hopes of the European peoples and all peace-loving forces.

In his report on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascist Germany, M. S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, said: "We are firmly in favor of reviving the detente process. However, this does not merely mean a return to the accomplishments of the 1970s. We should strive for a great deal more. From our viewpoint, detente is not the final objective of politics. It is necessary but only as a transition from a world blanketed by weapons to a reliable and comprehensive international security system."⁹

Today preventing the militarization of space and ending the arms race on earth are of key significance to peace and the destinies of mankind.

The nations of the world welcome the Soviet-American talks in Geneva, convened on Soviet initiative, covering the entire set of interrelated problems of space and nuclear weapons (strategic and medium-range) and hopefully expect that an agreement will be reached on an honest and equal footing without any effort to "trick" the other country or dictate conditions to it. It should be an agreement which could lead to the desired objective of preventing the militarization of space, total elimination and perpetual banning of nuclear weapons and lifting the threat of nuclear war.

The comprehensive approach to the problems of demilitarization of space and nuclear disarmament suggested by the Soviet Union is dictated by life itself, by the real situation. It is perfectly clear today that no talks can be held or agreements on strategic nuclear armaments reached without resolving

problems of medium-range nuclear weapons, for in terms of their nature and power the new American missiles deployed in Western Europe are strategic from the viewpoint of the socialist countries. Furthermore, no success would be possible on the problem of limiting and reducing the two types of nuclear armaments mentioned under the conditions of race in the militarization of space, as planned by Washington. Abandoning plans for the militarization of space and for waging "star wars" is a prerequisite for reaching an agreement on major reductions in nuclear armaments.

This objective could be attained more easily if, as suggested by the Soviet Union, a moratorium is imposed for the entire duration of the talks in Geneva, on the development (including scientific research), testing and deployment of offensive space weapons, freezing strategic offensive nuclear weapons, ending the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe and adopting respective measures by the USSR.

In its aspiration to hold an honest dialogue, once against the Soviet Union proved its good will by proclaiming a one-sided moratorium on the deployment of its own medium-range missiles and taking other responsive steps in Europe from 7 April to November 1985.

Socialism is performing its historical mission for the future of mankind in the struggle for ensuring peace, security and cooperation among nations. Imperialism is not the unchallenged ruling force in international life. Socialism has not only moral-political but also tremendous material facilities with which to prevent an aggression.

Many neutral and unaligned countries and the peoples of all countries are becoming increasingly active in opposing the aspirations and efforts of aggressive imperialist forces to achieve military superiority and dictate their will on the nations.

The increased role of the people's masses in history is one of the most important features of our time. The involvement of people's masses in historical creativity, which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution, became particularly intensified in recent years. One of the most important features in contemporary international relations is a qualitatively new development and unparalleled scale of the struggle waged by the broad popular masses in resolving the main problem of our time: the prevention of thermonuclear catastrophe.

Today millions and millions of people, members of all classes and social strata and influential political forces of our time, and a great variety of organizations are participating in the antiwar movement.

The peoples are increasingly aware of the danger of the arms race and strengthening their resolve to do everything possible to prevent a new world war. Their firm conviction that a nuclear catastrophe could be prevented through the joint energetic actions of all peace-loving forces is increasing further and further.

"The triumph of reason," "day of joy and hope for Europe" and "a historical day for mankind" were the descriptions which the leaders of the European countries gave to the day of 1 August 1975, when the Helsinki Final Act was initialed. The triumph of the "Spirit of Helsinki" once again is the prime imperative of the peoples today. That is why they welcomed with universal approval the Soviet proposal that the signatories of the Final Act express, on the day of its 10th anniversary, once again, in Helsinki, "their desire to eliminate the dangerous tension and to develop peaceful cooperation in international life, on a constructive basis."

Helsinki is not history but the future of Europe. That is why socialist Bulgaria does not consider the forthcoming celebration in the Finnish capital a jubilee. The participation of representatives of all European countries, the United States and Canada in marking the 10th anniversary of the conclusion of the Final Act is, above all, a remarkable political event, the purpose of which is to serve the cause of detente and peace and life on our common planet.

FOOTNOTES

1. See "Varshavskiyat Dogovor -- Zashtitnik na Mira i Sotsializma" [The Warsaw Pact -- Defender of Peace and Socialism]. Sofia, 1981, p 92.
2. See "Organizatsiya na Varshavskiyat Dogovor. Dokumenti 1955-1980 G." [The Warsaw Pact Organization. Documents, 1955-1980]. Sofia, 1980, p 9.
3. Ibid., p 13.
4. Ibid., p 91.
5. Ibid., p 262.
6. Ibid., p 79.
7. Zhivkov, T., "Izbr. Such." [Selected Works], Vol 23, p 453.
8. See Footnote 2, p 243.
9. RAB. DELO, 9 May 1985.

5003

CSO: 2200/8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

POPULATION INCREASE IN URBAN AREAS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Aug 85 p 4

[Text] When projecting urbanization and population trends in the Czech Socialist Republic, we cannot pay attention only to the anticipated development of okreses, cities and villages but must also consider larger territorial units, namely, the urban centers. In the Czech Socialist Republic we have 34 such agglomerations divided into 11 regional agglomerations and 23 sizable population centers.

These two types of urban areas are expected to account for 61-65 percent of the population of the Czech Socialist Republic by the year 2000. We therefore ought to direct most of our investments to them. This is in the interest of creating optimal conditions for the effective location and concentration of productive and non-productive activities and the possibilities of effective development and organization of the infrastructure. An important feature is the effort to concentrate the population into a limited number of centers and to have the largest possible area left for agricultural and forestry production and recreation. A resolution of the Czech government detailed these territorial units. The following were designated as regional population centers: Prague, Central Bohemia, Ceske Budejovice, Plzen, Karlovy Vary-Cheb, Usti and Labem-Chomutov, Liberec, Hradec Kralove-Pardubice, Brno, Gottwaldov, Ostrava and Olomouc.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BADGES, SYMBOLS FOR HANDICAPPED IN GENERAL USE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Aug 85 p 4

[Article by PhDr Libuse Blatna, Brno: "A Bridge of Agreement"]

[Excerpt] The Czechoslovak Union of the Disabled divides its membership into four categories: the physically disabled, the visually disabled, the internally disabled and the hearing impaired. These four categories of handicapped citizens have been issued motor vehicle stickers in the CSSR. The most common symbol is a black triangle within a yellow circle displayed on the motor vehicles of physically disabled drivers. Less known is a symbol of three black small circles within a yellow circle for drivers who are deaf or hard of hearing. Not used and consequently unknown are the symbols for the deaf and dumb (three small white circles within a yellow circle) and for those who suffer from visual disability (three small black circles within a yellow circle with the upper two small circles marked by a small white cross).

The above symbols appearing on arm bands and small badges have not become generalized in practice, perhaps because their color and placement makes them too obvious. For example, in the case of blind individuals we all tend to react more to a white stick which basically calls our attention to their disability because of its color. As such, the stick is carried by many other citizens, even those who are not disabled.

A more difficult problem is with those citizens who are deaf and hard of hearing. Healthy citizens are aware of the problem of deaf and hard of hearing citizens every time they meet them. Any response required by a deaf and hard of hearing individual bothers healthy citizens much more than their assistance rendered to a blind person taking him across the street. A statement such as "I have a hearing problem" does not mean anything to other people. To a statement "I am hard of hearing" most of us respond by starting to raise our voices which is as bad as not answering at all. A statement such as "I am deaf" results in the addressed person either not answering at all or start to gesticulate wildly.

For these reasons our public ought to be informed of the fact that since 1984 Czechoslovakia has adopted an international symbol of deafness in the form of a pin in a lapel which frees its wearer from painful explanations. This pin is in the form of a blue square with a silver contour styled as a loop which interrupts the diagonal line starting in the upper right-hand corner of the square. Each wearer of this pin has a membership card which displays the stamp of the Union of the Disabled.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DECREASE IN FORESTED AREAS IS PROBLEM

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Aug 85 p 2

[Article: "Forests Are Our Wealth"]

[Text] Since 1945, the forest areas in the Czech Socialist Republic have increased by 250,000 hectares. At that time 31 percent of the republic's area contained forests while today it is over 33 percent. In this respect we are ahead of both the world and European average. Twenty-nine percent of the globe's area is covered by forests; the figure for Europe is 32 percent. However, we are below the average in respect of forested area per capita. Our average is 0.25 hectare, for the world it is 0.88 hectare, and for Europe 0.31 hectare.

In recent years, however, an upward trend in forestation has been broken. In 1982 alone there was a net decrease of 700 hectares. The reason is the constant demand for the use of forested areas for mining and plant construction. We have also cut down trees to increase our agricultural area.

This is not a problem for our republic alone. The erroneous view that forests are one of the more or less constant elements of nature is being demonstrated across the world as forests gradually disappear from the earth's surface. According to FAO (a UN organization for food and agriculture) statistics, some 125,000 hectares of forested area are "disappearing" from the earth's surface each year. This is an area corresponding to the size of Austria and Switzerland combined.

To maintain the existing forests it is necessary to systematically protect them. Even if forested area continues to decline as some of it is put to alternate uses, such measures should serve the entire society, and the decisions to do so should be justified. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. Sometimes the overall social effect of enterprise construction or the building of a sport stadium do not exceed at all the value of production and other useful functions of the forest.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MILITARY ASPECTS OF THIRD WORLD RELATIONS DISCUSSED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 18 No 8, Aug 85 (signed to press
29 Jul 85) pp 832-845

[Article by Dr Hans-Joachim Spanger, staff researcher at the Hesse Foundation
for Research on Peace and Conflicts in Frankfurt/Main: "Military Policy and the
GDR's Military Commitment in the Third World"]

[Text] Since 1945 well over 100 wars have been conducted in the Third World as well as a hard-to-quantify number of armed conflicts and civil wars. Political instability and profound social and economic problems have now resulted in making the use of military force in the southern hemisphere a daily bloody reality. But wars and armed conflicts not only spread death, misery and devastations but they also deprive the developing countries of considerable urgently needed resources. Armament riches and military-policy dynamics on the one side, economic poverty and development policy stagnation on the other side together characterize the current situation in the Third World.

Without the participation of the industrial states of East and West, this situation would be hardly conceivable. They make most of the allegedly needed military equipment available to the developing countries. They take sides in military conflicts, provide support to the adversaries and in the past have not rarely been prepared for direct employment of military forces. In relation to the aim of wanting to contribute to stability, development and progress in the Third World, such a practice is highly questionable. All the same there are no indications that the military component in the relations between North and South will be accorded less importance in the future. On the contrary.

The GDR starts from the assumption, as do its alliance partners in the socialist camp, that it will not be possible to do without the use of armed force in international relations in the foreseeable future. Admittedly it does not glorify the use of force and military conflicts and emphasizes even more, especially lately, the great importance to be attributed to the safeguarding of peace. At the same time, with an eye to the Third World, it leaves no doubt that armed force constitutes "a specific form of combat in the present stage of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa and Asia".¹ The GDR feels ties of solidarity with the "anti-imperialist liberation struggle" regardless of whether or not it is fought with peaceful or warlike means. It provides political and military support for it, whereby it is unimportant in principle

whether the struggle is directed offensively against the existing conditions in the Third World or is understood defensively as a "defense of revolutionary achievements" of individual developing countries.

1. The GDR and the Armed Liberation Struggle

"National liberations wars" as "the sharpest form of the national liberation movement" are defined as follows by the "Soviet Military Encyclopedia": "National liberation wars are wars of the peoples of colonial and independent countries or of countries liberated from the colonial yoke against the colonial power and the domestic reaction to gain or to defend state sovereignty and to safeguard a free, independent development."²

Accordingly the anticolonial wars in Algeria, Angola and Mozambique, the civil wars in Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea and Central America have to be regarded as "national liberation wars" as well as the war jointly conducted by India and the East Bengali Awami League against Pakistan from which a new state, Bangladesh, emerged in 1971. The armed struggle of Moslem resistance groups against the Soviet occupation power and the Babrak Karmal regime imported by it in Afghanistan in the eyes of the socialist states however, is no more a "war of liberation" than the struggle of the Eritrean independence movement against the Ethiopian central government. Since both are directed against "socialist oriented" regimes which are close friends of the Soviet Union, they lack ratings which first qualify an armed conflict as a "national war of liberation":

"The lawfulness and legality of national wars of liberation in their noble, lofty aims are based especially in the fact that they are directed exclusively against the entire imperialist system of oppression based on armed force. For this very reason, the national liberation wars are a reaction to the policy of national and social oppression practiced by the imperialists regardless of whether or not wars of sovereign national states are involved which have become the object of armed aggression of imperialism or uprisings when peoples take up arms after all possible peaceful methods of the struggle against the colonial powers and the domestic reaction supporting them have been exhausted."³

Here, as so often, the bipolar basic pattern becomes evident that largely structures the perception of the Third World and to a considerable extent also the involvement in developmental policy of the socialist states. "National liberation wars" are a contribution to the change in the international balance of power and for that reason alone command the support of the socialist states. Fundamentally nothing is changed in that by the detente in the north, since peaceful coexistence is not to be applied "to the relations between oppressors and oppressed, between colonialists and the victims of colonial subjugation" since peaceful coexistence does "not (contradict) the right of the oppressed peoples to apply in the struggle for their liberation the means that they consider as necessary to embark upon the armed or unarmed path."⁴

The socialist states and among them the GDR regard the political and economic but also the military support of the national liberation movement as an "internationalist duty." They do stress that they do not intend to "export the

revolution" but merely want to prevent "imperialism" from "exporting the counterrevolution by force of arms." The legitimization of its military involvement in the Third World also contains ideological safeguards which are to prevent the socialist states from having to assist every "liberation movement" if the latter starts an armed conflict. They want to provide military aid only "at the request of the lawful governments of the liberated states or of the national liberation movements" and "always in careful consideration of the concrete conditions of the class struggle, taking into account all factors, especially the degree of maturity of the objective and subjective conditions of the revolutionary movement."⁵

The party and state leaders of the socialist states are anything but followers of the militarist mythologies of revolution as they are expressed in the "Theory of the Popular War" of Mao Tse tung, the concept of a "guerrilla focus" of Regis Debray and Ernesto Che Guevara, the urban guerrilla strategy of Carlos Marighela or of the cathartic idealization of liberation wars by Frantz Fanon. Concepts which grant priority to armed conflicts and--quite along the line of an "export of the revolution"--demand unconditional solidarity of all revolutionary forces have always been criticized by them and quite frequently violently so.⁶ Autonomous and autochthonous revolutionary models of the Third World with a dynamic of their own are suspect on principle since they can hardly be influenced and controlled or not at all. To whom and when military support will be made available is decided by them alone--according to criteria which have little to do with national and social liberation in the Third World but much with the ratio of forces between East and West. The Marxist-Leninist theory of the war of liberation therefore must guarantee the flexibility so that the socialist states can flexibly as well as under pragmatic and power policy aspects approve or reject armed wars of liberation in the Third World, promise or refuse military support.

Only if a series of conditions are fulfilled do the GDR and its allies consider the armed struggle as justified and are prepared to support it:

"The objective laws of the revolutionary armed struggle exclude adventurism and spontaneity which find their most clearcut expression in petit-bourgeois 'would-be revolutionary action.' The armed struggle is the most complicated and most responsible form of the class struggle. Therefore, the armed uprising must be preceded by a thorough socioeconomic and political analysis of the situation in the country and must generally take into account the international factors which play a constantly growing role."⁷

Concretely this means that an armed liberation struggle is to be started only if the balance of forces between the parties to the civil war provides a prospect for success. Hereby it is in dispute whether there must be an approximate balance of forces or whether the struggle can also be successfully conducted with considerable inferiority. On the other hand, the methods of the struggle are judged less controversially: In the first phase the insurgents can limit themselves to a partisan war; however, to be victorious it must be transformed into a "regular war of movement," which ultimately covers the entire country.⁸ It is regarded as another important condition of the armed struggle that the latter possesses a broad base in the rural and urban population and is connected with intensive political educational work. Rebel units must not work in isolation

or in the expectation that the armed conflicts would virtually automatically cause solidarity of broad circles of the people. Rather military actions must devolve from the "class struggle" and be closely coordinated with its political and social forms. Finally the insurgents are duty bound to seek international recognition as well as political and material support from as large a number of states as possible.

If these conditions are fulfilled, "progressive" political organizations and their armed units in the Third World in most cases find the recognition of the socialist states. Whether and to what extent they then receive support, however, depends on additional factors. If there is an acute danger of political or even military involvement with the United States and other Western states, the Soviet Union and the GDR rather seem to avoid open involvement. Central America is an example for that. The socialist states did provide political and moral support to the guerrilla struggle of the FSLN in Nicaragua just as today to the FMLN in El Salvador--however they shied away from open military aid for the armed struggle in the U.S. backyard. If at all, they provided the rebel units with weapons and militarily useful equipment through Third World countries. Their involvement would undoubtedly be greater under more favorable international conditions.⁹

When at the beginning of the 70's the GDR decided to assist the liberation movements in Southern Africa also militarily beyond the political and moral support practiced until that time, this decision was based on an apparently ideal combination of factors of influence. It believed that possible Western reservations had been neutralized by the detente and the circumstance that finally the Soviet Union had agreed to an understanding with the United States when the latter was still at war in Vietnam. The MPLA, FRELIMO, PAIGC and ZAPU liberation organizations had obtained recognition from the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and numerous developing countries. Moreover, they already controlled large parts of the country in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. In view of the moral discrediting of Portuguese colonialism it therefore appeared to be only a question of time until they would successfully conclude their struggle. The recognition and support of the PLO expressed at the beginning of the 70's appeared to be justified for similar reasons.

In the initial phase, the anticolonial movement of Southern Africa had to rely completely on the support of sympathizing Third World states. Thus the guerrilla fighters of MPLA, FRELIMO, PAIGC and ZAPU during the 60's were trained and equipped in Algeria, Tanzania, the Congo, Ghana and Zambia.¹⁰ This was done even then with Cuban support and under the guidance of Che Guevara, which apparently contributed to the fact that for example in the FRELIMO "phenomena of overemphasis of the armed form of the anticolonial liberation struggle" was noted, which in retrospect was critically noted in the GDR.¹¹

While in the 70's, the political and military support of "national liberation movements" by the socialist states aroused considerable attention, they attach far greater importance to cooperation with regular armies of individual developing countries. They receive the overwhelming part of the armament goods and the GDR National People's Army has initiated intensive contacts with some of them.

2. Military Defense of "Revolutionary Achievements" in the Third World

The socialist states, and especially the GDR, are directing their theoretical and practical main attention, side by side with the "fraternal socialist countries" of Vietnam and Cuba, to those Third World countries which have embarked on a path of development with "socialist orientation." This applies especially to the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, to Ethiopia, the People's Democratic Republic of (South) Yemen as well as finally to Afghanistan and lately also Nicaragua.¹² Following national liberation struggles, following the success of insurgent armed civil war units or as part of unadorned military coups, they have initiated social changes which not least need to be militarily secured. Faithful to Lenin's teachings that "a revolution (is) only worth something if it knows how to defend itself," the socialist states point to the overriding importance of a reliable and effective army whose task it is to guarantee at home and abroad the permanence of the "revolutionary achievements."¹³

The armies of the "socialist oriented" developing countries have a defensive and offensive function as regards domestic and foreign policy. Domestically above all they have to see to "a resolute armed suppression of the counter-revolutionary forces" and of the "internal reaction";¹⁴ but they are to participate in the direction of a "social deepening" of the development also "actively in the solution of sociopolitical, economic and cultural key problems (implementation of land reform, development of the infrastructure, overcoming of illiteracy, etc.)."¹⁵ Their principal external task consists in the defense against "armed aggressions which originate either from the imperialist states themselves or from reactionary pro-imperialist regimes."¹⁶ Beyond that "military assistance for those peoples which still fight for their state independence or their progressive development or have to defend their progressive development against domestic and foreign counterrevolution" is included offensively "in taking care of the external function."¹⁷

In view of its great importance decisive for success and failure of the path of development taken, "armed protection of the achievements" is regarded by the socialist military theoreticians as a "principal function of the young state power in the socialist-oriented national states."¹⁸ However, numerous problems characteristic of the Third World--low level of development, wide illiteracy, hardly developed modern social and economic structures, lacking military-technical and economic knowledge and conditions--make the development of reliable armies extremely difficult. On the other hand, these factors contribute to devolving considerable political importance to the military and especially the officers corps in most developing countries. Moreover, the officer corps is put into the position "to be able to develop into a relatively independent political force" which can be "a starting point for a revolutionary, anti-capitalist orientation," but also be receptive "for actions of an opposite character."¹⁹

Socialist military science therefore has developed criteria for transformation of the armies which are to ensure "that the armed organs" become "reliable instruments of power of the revolutionary-democratic leadership forces" in the countries with "socialist orientation."²⁰ At the same time they make evident

the direction in which the socialist states seek to influence the governments and armies of the developing countries.

In summary, the revolutionary-democratic forces of the developing countries have to solve the following political and social tasks with regard to the army:

"1. Prevention of efforts by bourgeois and rightist petit-bourgeois, bureaucratic elements to maintain the armed forces as a privileged professional institution and elite isolated from the people and allegedly "above the classes" or to transform them into such an institution and elite, to isolate them from the political organizations of the revolutionary forces and to remove them from the latter's control.

"2. Development of the armies into people's armies or their clearer definition by increasing the proletarian and peasant elements in the officer corps, education and strengthening of a military leadership imbued with revolutionary ideas; purging of the army of opponents of the socialist-oriented development.

"3. Raising of the political awareness of the soldiers and officers through their education according to the program approved by the party and state leadership of anti-imperialist--democratic, socialist-oriented changes, uncompromising struggle against antisocialist ideologies, especially anticommunism and anti-Sovietism.

"4. Strengthening of the relations of the military personnel to the workers and peasants.

"5. Strengthening of the unity of the army based on the program of the revolution, consolidation of the army as a national army; uncompromising struggle against regionalist, tribalist and separatist trends; increase in the vigilance against efforts by imperialism and of the internal reaction to take advantage of contradictions between individual ethnic and religious groups to split the army and to misuse it for reactionary purposes."²¹

Training of military personnel from the Third World at the military academies of socialist countries is to impart, aside from military-technical knowledge, especially also these fundamental principles of Marxist-Leninist military theory. In this connection they do concentrate on the states with "socialist orientation"; however, since there are also contacts with the armed forces of "capitalist developing countries," it is to be assumed that the same and similar requirements are impressed upon them, too. The socialist states have little interest in reactionary military coups but all the more in "anti-imperialism" of the capitalist countries from the Third World, which unfolds against the background of the North-South conflict with the Western industrial states. For this reason alone they appear to consider it a current political task to influence the armies of these countries, too.

In view of the strong position occupied by the armed forces especially in the countries with "socialist orientation," it is a special concern of the socialist politicians and military to stress the Marxist-Leninist imperative of the leading role of a revolutionary-democratic party, which the latter must assert also

in relation to the armed forces. Only the party can guarantee the political control and prevent the development of independent and potentially counter-revolutionary trends in the army. Military governments or a "military dictatorship," which was diagnosed intermittently in Ethiopia,²² are accepted by the socialist strategists merely as a "transition phase on the road of the socialist development." They are optimistic that the "revolutionary democrats" will follow them in this respect:

"Attempts so-to-speak 'to make everything with the army' and to guide the manifold social processes mainly according to a military command pattern were corrected by life itself. As a result, the awareness for the necessity and the possibilities of solving domestic or foreign conflict situations was also increasingly sharpened."²³

It appears questionable whether the continued existence of quasi-military regimes in a number of countries with "socialist orientation", to which hardly anything else is more important than military ceremonies and the frequently comic-opera insignia of military authority, justify this optimism. Since the socialist states, in line with the historical Soviet model, have also borrowed their political system largely from military organizing principles, there exist system-specific affinities which lead to the expectation of a strengthening of the military factor in connection with a continuation of the "socialistically oriented" changes. It is a contributing factor here that the Soviet Union as well as the GDR vehemently reject it when plans are discussed in friendly developing countries to do without a standing army and to organize the defense only with lightly armed militia or partisan forces. They do consider supporting militia units as necessary but, they say, what is decisive are "regular armed forces equipped with modern socialist military equipment" which are subject to "strict individual leadership" and "iron military discipline."²⁴ They want to transfer their own principles of military organization and equipment and ask the developing countries to utilize them as a "source of experience," since they "are in military-technical respect the most advanced experiences of the development of armed forces."²⁵ If this is to be implemented in underdeveloped societies, a comprehensive militarization is the natural consequence. Militia units, on the other hand, correspond far better to the specific conditions in the Third World--and they are clearly defensively oriented.

It remains to be seen whether, as military personnel of the socialist states assert, the renunciation of regular armed forces and attempts of some developing countries "to guarantee the protection of the country by a militia system exclusively" have actually failed.²⁶ The demand for regular and modernly equipped armed forces has already had two highly negative consequences for the developing countries beyond the already outlined concomitants. They are committed to military strategies and the equipment with large weapons systems which come from the northern hemisphere, but hardly correspond to the military-technical, personnel and mostly also geographic-climatic conditions of the Third World and--as practical experience has shown--frequently are only of limited use.

In addition, such a structure of the armed forces consumes enormous and far greater resources than the equipment with light infantry weapons, as it is customary for militia units.

However, for the socialist states the benefit is far greater. They can make modern military equipment available to wealthy customers, military equipment which, as commercial goods, helps bring in foreign exchange. To other interested parties they can deliver weapons systems which are obsolete in Europe, but can still be used in the Third World.²⁷ Imported war material moreover necessitates training measures which in turn can be utilized for political and ideological influence. In short: The creation of regular armies equipped with tanks, missiles, aircraft and other large weapons makes the developing countries militarily and, in future, also economically and politically dependent on the socialist states. The way is open for their direct influence as well as for political pressures.

Against this background it becomes plausible when the militia and territorial principle is rejected in the GDR also because it is advocated with the goal "to separate the progressively oriented young national states of Africa and Asia if possible in the military field from their most important allies, real existing socialism."²⁸ Indeed the developing countries need a defense concept which is based on their own forces and can be largely achieved without outside help.²⁹ They also need such a defensively oriented concept because the waste of resources and regional arms races considerably contribute to economic and social crisis and political instability in the Third World. But in the long run, stability and development are also far more in the interest of the industrial states than short-term military-strategic or economic advantages that could accrue to them from arms deals. It appears that this understanding is increasingly gaining ground in the GDR even though the military involvement of a number of socialist states in the Third World has thus far remained untouched by this understanding.³⁰

3. Military Involvement of the GDR in the Third World: Data, Facts, Speculations

In contrast to the Soviet Union and Cuba, which make no secret of their military involvement in the Third World, the participation of the GDR is only sparsely reflected in the GDR media. While in Soviet literature the military support of the national liberation movement "by the socialist fraternal countries" is represented and displayed "as a steadily acting factor of international policy", that this support gains "constantly increasing importance" and condemns "every colonialist military adventure of imperialism in the end to hopelessness," comparable voices are hardly found in the GDR.³¹ There cautious references, like those of Deputy GDR Foreign Minister Klaus Willerding's, dominate, who merely remarked concerning the military involvement of the GDR in Third World countries: "At the request of some of them, cooperation in the military sphere also developed."³² The Soviet Union and the GDR have in common that both of them provide virtually no information on the details of their activities.

The journalistic restraint may have several reasons. Thus, after two world wars to this day, the world public attentively and critically takes note when German weapons and soldiers are employed in the crisis zones of the southern continents. The exposed and not very stable location of the GDR at the boundary of the East-West conflict may also contain possible enthusiasm for military adventures. Finally the insignificant journalistic response can be judged to be an indicator that the GDR actually attaches only little importance to military questions in its relations to the Third World. A critical remark by Karl-Heinz Domdey, the

East Berlin economist and university professor, may indicate that there is at least a discussion in the GDR whether military support of the developing countries is indispensable and what relative importance is to be attached to it:

"In this connection military solidarity, assistance and cooperation undoubtedly possessed and continues to possess great importance. At the same time we must also not underrate the beginnings of mutual economic support and cooperation."³³

It is undisputed that the GDR is militarily involved in the Third World to this day. National liberation movements that refer to the ideological self-image of the GDR leadership and demand "anti-imperialist solidarity" as well as unstable "socialist" and "socialist-oriented" developing countries which would collapse without outside assistance have confronted the GDR more than once with the choice to follow the own declaratory aims and grant military support or to deny it. Complicating the situation is the fact that especially "socialist" and "socialist-oriented" developing countries to an unusually large extent have military conflicts with their neighbors: in East Asia, Vietnam and Kampuchea; in the Middle East, Afghanistan; in the Near East, Syria, Iraq and Libya; at the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia; in Southern Africa, Angola and Mozambique; and in Central America, Nicaragua. Moreover, if the military involvement of Tanzania in Uganda, the support of the POLISARIO by Algeria, the Yemeni units in Ethiopia (before that the People Democratic Republic of Yemen supported the insurgents in the Oman/Dhofar civil war and itself carried on a short-lived war with North Yemen), the latent civil war in Burma and not least Cuba's extensive involvement are taken into account, there hardly remains a sizable country of the Third World with friendly ties to the GDR that has no military involvements, for whatever reasons. It is obvious that such a situation cannot leave the European socialist states unaffected. As part of the growing demands, the GDR, too, has apparently agreed to military involvement in the Third World. However, it is difficult to reliably determine since when, the extent to which and how the GDR is involved.

The wars in Korea and Vietnam in the beginning of the 50's and the Algerian war against the French colonial power at the end of the decade offered the GDR the first opportunity to prove its solidarity in armed conflicts. But it is not known whether it granted also military support in addition to eliminating the consequences of war and medical assistance--in the Algerian war the tradition lasting to this day of giving medical treatment to wounded combatants of the guerrilla units was initiated.³⁴ First indications are to be noted from the 60's, although without concrete evidence, when the GDR is said to have made military equipment available to Egypt, Tanzania, Guinea and North Vietnam.³⁵ At the beginning of the 70's, the indications of the GDR military involvement in the Third World grew stronger. Several Western observers referred to GDR arms deliveries, training assistance and military advisers which are said to have primarily benefited the liberation movements in Southern Africa and the Palestine Liberation Organization PLO, but also friendly states such as the People's Republic of the Congo.³⁶

After the disintegration of the Portuguese colonial empire and in connection with the Ethiopian-Somali war, this involvement appears to have expanded considerably. Today when GDR military activities in the Third World are discussed, the attention is focused especially on this phase that was started in the mid-70's.

According to the socialist states' own information, their military cooperation with the developing countries primarily comprises the following forms:

- "Delivery of weapons and military equipment,
- "Training of military cadres,
- "Assistance in setting up defense industry enterprises,
- "Granting of licenses for the manufacture of products for national defense and
- "Assistance in organizing the army and in combat training of the troops."

In addition, there is "the temporary presence of troop contingents of individual socialist states in some liberated countries."³⁷

3.1 Arms Export

With nearly 90 percent, the Soviet Union is indisputably the main supplier of military equipment to the Third World among the socialist states. Czechoslovakia, which has had efficient arms production since the 20's and Poland follow far behind the Soviet Union. The arms export apparently is an important source of foreign exchange income to both countries. Arms deliveries of the GDR, which has hardly any armament capacities of its own, quantitatively are only of little importance.³⁸ In answer to a parliamentary interpellation of the CDU/CSU Bundestag parliamentary group on GDR activities in Africa, the Federal Government also pointed out:

"The GDR arms deliveries to African states are small and are made as part of the 'division of labor' of the Warsaw Pact."³⁹

Arms deliveries to the Third World were openly admitted by GDR representatives for the first time in 1979. Following an Africa trip, Defense Minister Heinz Hoffmann reported that he saw in a training camp of the Ethiopian people's militia "Thousands of sons of former slaves and landless peasants practice assault with the automatic assault rifle and the steel helmet of the GDR."⁴⁰ During the same year Erich Honecker pointed out that the GDR was supporting Ethiopia not only with "bread," but also with "weapons."⁴¹ Apparently the GDR in the past made available to the developing countries only light weapons, steel helmets, uniforms, vehicles and other militarily usable equipment, such as optical and electronic equipment but not heavy weapons systems, such as tanks, artillery or aircraft.⁴² An exception appear to have been only those three fast patrol boats and four patrol boats which--according to U.S. sources--were delivered to Tanzania in the 70's.⁴³ With such an export structure it is virtually impossible to reliably determine the extent of the deliveries. If, including the training and advisory activities, the GDR actually spends M 200 million a year appears questionable and must be doubted all the more because, in principle, it tries to obtain payment for its efforts for the Third World as much as possible.⁴⁴

Table 1: GDR Weapons Exports (in Million U.S. Dollars)

	laufende Preise (1)	konstante Preise, Basis 1975 (2)	laufende Preise (1)	konstante Preise, Basis 1976 (3)	laufende Preise (1)	konstante Preise, Basis 1977 (4)	laufende Preise (1)	konstante Preise, Basis 1981 (5)
1967	5	8						
1968	6	9	10	16				
1969	6	9	10	15	10	16		
1970	6	8	10	15	10	15		
1971	5	7	5	7	5	7		
1972	14	18	10	13	50	70	50	97
1973	27	32	130	164	50	66	50	92
1974	14	15	110	127	40	48	40	67
1975	10	10	100	105	50	55	50	77
1976	3	3	10	10	20	21	20	29
1977			90	85	90	90	90	124
1978					60	55	60	77
1979							40	47
1980							110	120
1981							120	120
1982							140	132

Key:

1. Current prices
2. Constant prices, 1975 base
3. Constant prices, 1976 base
4. Constant prices, 1977 base
5. Constant prices, 1981 base

How difficult it is to provide reliable data can be seen from the annual reports on the international arms trade and worldwide military expenditures of the U.S. Disarmament Agency (ACDA). With an eye to the entire GDR weapons export--in view of the small volume the recipients were not separately indicated--it arrived at entirely different results (cf. Table 1).⁴⁵

Probably only the fact can be recorded that the GDR delivers weapons to the Third World and that their rather small volume and the recipients cannot be precisely determined. Anyway the training and advisory activity occupies a recognizably more important place within the GDR military assistance program for the Third World. Apart from the Soviet Union, it seems to be able to compete in this respect with its East European allies.⁴⁶ Western observers

had especially these activities in mind when they attributed the by far most active role to the GDR in Africa, the main recipient of its military involvement.⁴⁷

3.2 Training and Advisers

Since the mid-70's, military personnel, especially of "socialist-oriented" developing countries are being continuously trained at GDR military academies. Participation of officers from Angola, Mozambique, the People's Republic of the Congo and Ethiopia has become known.⁴⁸ However, no exact data are available.⁴⁹ Also the dispatch of GDR military advisers appears to be relatively more important. They are represented in numerous developing countries. But it is also difficult to determine their number. While the GDR for obvious reasons completely fails to provide precise data on the presence of its military in the Third World, Western estimates provide a considerable range. According to the estimates, between 1180 and 3500-5500 military experts from the GDR are said to have been represented in Africa alone at the beginning of the 80's.⁵⁰

Other speculations which claim to have observed a total of up to 30,000 GDR officers, soldiers and military advisers in the Third World go even further.⁵¹ The GDR military presence in the Third World is broken down by continents, regions and countries in Table 2. Sources were taken into account which try to reconstruct a total picture of the GDR presence in the Third World; individual data were not included.⁵² Considerable differences can be noted here, too. In this connection it should be taken into consideration that some data reveal only the military advisers, others military and civilian advisers, which, however, by no means explains the differences.

At first glance it is striking that the calculations of the Pentagon study come closest to the figures from the GDR. Thus the party organ EINHEIT stated that in 1979 2200 GDR experts had been assigned in developing countries.⁶⁰ The U.S. Department of Defense calculated a total of 2225 in 1981, which, however,-- regardless of whether military or civilian personnel--exclusively handle militarily important tasks. Here, too, it is a question which of the numerous data offered are correct. But it cannot be rejected out of hand that the GDR in some developing countries, for the most part those most closely allied with it, performs military adviser activities to a significant extent. That beyond that it stations regular combat units, as the Cubans do in Angola and Ethiopia and has also employed them in the Ethiopian-Somali war, is not very likely and has repeatedly been officially denied.⁶¹

Weapons deliveries and military training and advice is provided by the GDR almost exclusively to friendly "socialist" and "socialist-oriented" developing countries and to the "national liberation movements" connected with it. It has concluded treaties on military cooperation with them, which in Mozambique was embedded in the friendship treaty. Nonetheless there are also contacts with armed forces of countries which, according to GDR assessment, have embarked on a "capitalist road of development." Thus in its embassies in Egypt, Morocco, and India military attaches are said to have been assigned whose task consists "in the establishment and fostering of connections between the armed forces of the dispatching state and the receiving state,"⁶² according to diplomatic usage.

Table 2: GDR Military Advisers

	Military Balance ⁵³ (1)	Sivard Studie ⁵⁴ (2)	Dolezal ⁵⁵ (3)	Pentagon-Studie ⁵⁶ (4)	Der Spiegel ⁵⁷ (5)	Nawrocki ⁵⁸ (6)	Löwis of Menar ⁵⁹ (7)
Erfassungs-zeitraum/ Erscheinungs-jahr (8)	1983/84	1982/83	1983	1982	1983	1981	1980
AFRIKA (9)	1875	1575	2620	3075	3000	1525	2720
Algerien (10)	250	250	250	250	m.P.*	250	1200
Angola	450	450	450	450	m.P.	450	2500
Äthiopien (11)	550	250	250	550	m.P.	550	mehrere tausend (26)
Benin					m.P.	300	
Guinea	125	125	120	125	m.P.	125	
Guinea-Bissau					m.P.		
VR Kongo (12)			750		m.P.	15	
Libyen (13)	400	400	400	1600	m.P.	20	m.P.
Madagaskar (14)			300			400	450
Mali						20	
Mosambik (15)	100	100	100	100	m.P.	100	600
Nigeria					m.P.		
Sambia (16)					m.P.		3000/
Tansania (17)					m.P.	150	430 NVA
NAHER OSTEN (18)	445	695	590	715		700	mehr als 2950 (28)
Irak (19)	160	160	160	180		160	950
Nord-Jemen (20)	75	325	320	325	m.P.	5	
VDR Jemen (21)	210	210	210	210		325	2000
Syrien (22)						210	m.P.
SUMME (23)	2320	2270	3310	3790		2225	weit mehr als 8130 (25)

*m.P.: militärische Präsenz, aber ohne Zahlenangaben. (24)

Key:

1. Military balance⁵³
2. Sivard study⁵⁴
3. Dolezal⁵⁵
4. Pentagon study⁵⁶
5. DER SPIEGEL⁵⁷
6. Nawrocki⁵⁸
7. Löewis of Menar⁵⁹
8. Period covered/year of publication
9. Africa
10. Algeria
11. Ethiopia
12. People's Republic of the Congo
13. Libya
14. Madagascar
15. Mozambique
16. Zambia
17. Tanzania
18. Near East
19. Iraq
20. North Yemen
21. People's Democratic Republic of Yemen
22. Syria
23. Total
24. Military presence but without any figures
25. Far more than
26. Several thousand
27. Several hundred
28. More than

Moreover, in the past lively mutual visits of high-ranking military delegations were fostered with countries such as Nigeria, Zambia, North Yemen, Mexico, Peru and India.

During the 70's, not only the political, but also the military involvement of the GDR in the Third World was considerably expanded. It delivered weapons and equipment, dispatched experts of the National People's Army and invited military personnel of the developing countries for training and advanced training in the GDR. It no longer confined itself to eliminating the consequences of war but also contributed to strengthening the combat effectiveness of the armed forces allied with the socialist states in the Third World. It is true, the development policy activities of the GDR quantitatively and qualitatively are somewhat more important than its military involvement.⁶³ Also thus far it has not been present or at most at the fringes of the acts of war of its partners even though its military presence in regions of crises and tensions is especially conspicuous. However, all this cannot hide that arms deliveries and advisers even of the GDR cannot help solve but sharpen the problems of the developing countries. As other industrial states, the GDR deprives the Third World of urgently needed resources⁶⁴, accelerates militarization of the developing societies and thus nourishes the peace-endangering illusion that regional conflicts can be solved militarily.

Two world wars were started in the name of Germany. In view of this past, which the GDR cannot escape despite all ideological postulates, each German government must exercise caution to an especially high degree militarily and military-policy-wise. The joint declaration that no more wars must start from German soil shows that both sides are aware of their obligation. But such a declaration need not stop at the German borders: neither is it permissible for wars to start from German soil nor is it permissible for them to start or to be carried out with German participation.

Both German states have in common that they attach less importance to military activities in the Third World than their alliance partners. Both have involved themselves late and to a small extent, but are now present in the Southern hemisphere with weapons and advisers. But this agreement between both states cannot conceal an essential difference between both states: while the Federal Republic primarily pursues a commercially motivated arms trade with the Third World and in the past has avoided regions of tension, the military involvement of the GDR is concentrated on these very zones of conflict. Its "anti-imperialist" political goals make them a militarily active party to the conflict--a course which may conjure up not only dangerous involvements but may also arouse doubts in the credibility of its peace policy. In the meantime, the GDR seems to become increasingly conscious of these risks, for a growing number of voices have recently been heard which point out the danger of an escalation of regional conflicts and that every war contains "a threat for all people on earth."⁶⁵

Especially both German states should refuse military involvement and actively contribute to substantial stabilization of the Third World. Confrontational strategies under obligation to the military cannot serve this aim but comprehensive aid can work in this direction.

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FOOTNOTES

1. Wolfgang Baatz, "On the Role of Military Force in Safeguarding the Successes of the National Liberation Movement in Africa and Asia," in ASIEN, AFRIKA, LATEINAMERIKA (AAL) 2/1976, p 210.
2. "Soviet Military Encyclopedia," Vol 5, Moscow 1978 (Russian), p 536; cf. also MILITAERWESEN (MW) 11/1981, p 106.
3. Ibid., p 537
4. "The Armed Struggle of the Peoples of Africa for Freedom and Independence," published by the Institute for Military History of the USSR Ministry for Defense and of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Berlin (East) 1981, p 63; "International Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties," Moscow 1969, Berlin (East) 1969, p 37.
5. "The Armed Struggle..." (footnote 4), pp 68, 74; Col Dr. D. Groll, Col Dr. D. Hillebrenner, "The Socialist Military Power in the Revolutionary World Process of the Present," in MW 3/1983, p 14. While the massive military involvement of the socialist states in Angola and Ethiopia in the mid-70's might be legitimized by requests for assistance of the governments there, this justification in Afghanistan, however, assumes absurd features. There the Soviets justified their invasion also with the request for assistance of the official government--a government that entered the country only in the train of the Soviet troops.
6. Cf., e.g., "The Armed Struggle..." (footnote 4), pp 75-86; Boris Goldenberg, "Communism in Latin America," Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne, Mainz 1971, pp 368-393.
7. "The Armed Struggle..." (footnote 4), pp 91, 407.
8. Ibid., pp 65, 412. Other authors draw the conclusion from the experiences of the Cuban revolution that rebel armed forces can be successful even though they may be far inferior to the government troops. Cf. Werner Pade, "Some Aspects of the Origin and Development of the Armed Forces of the Cuban Revolution Until 1962," in: MILITAERGESCHICHTE (MG) 6/1983, p 666.
9. Lothar Brock, Hans-Joachim Spanger, "Conflict and Cooperation. The Two German States in the Third World," in: "The Two German States in the East-West Relationship, 15th Conference on the Status

of GDR Research in the Federal Republic of Germany, : Cologne 1982, pp 118-121.

10. Cf. Bettina Decke, "a terra e nossa, Colonial Society and Liberation Movement in Angola," Bonn 1981, pp 249-252; Anne-Sophie Arnold, "Political and Military Aspects of the Struggle for Mozambique's National Independence," in: MG 2/1977, p 173; same author, "The Struggle of Zimbabwe's Patriotic Forces for National Independence and Democracy," in: MG 6/1980, p 674.
11. Arnold, MG 2/1977 (footnote 119), p 174.
12. In addition there is with Algeria, Benin, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde Islands, the People's Republic of the Congo, Madagascar, Sao Tome and Principe, Tanzania, Burma, Iraq, Syria an additional group of developing countries to which the GDR feels close ties, although to a lesser degree. Cf. for incorporation and differentiation Hans-Joachim Spanger, Lothar Brock, "The Two German States in the Third World" (working title), in the process of publication.
13. V.I. Lenin, "Works," Vol 28, Berlin (East) 1970, p 115.
14. Baatz (footnote 1), p 213.
15. Klaus-Ulrich Schloesser, "On the Role of the Army in Nationally Liberated States of Asia and Africa," in: DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK (DAP), 10/1982, p 70 ff.
16. Baatz (footnote 1), p 212.
17. Schloesser (footnote 15), p 71.
18. Baatz (footnote 1), p 212.
19. Baatz (footnote 1), p 211; Col Dr S. Gafurow, "Social Character and Main Functions of the Army of a State With Socialist Orientation," in: MW 5/1981, p 15.
20. Admiral A. Sorokin, "Some Current Problems of Marxist-Leninist Doctrine on War and the Armed Forces," in MW 6/1983, p 17; Baatz (footnote 1), p 213.
21. Helmut Nimschowski, "Problems of the United Front of the Anti-imperialist--Democratic Forces in States With Socialist Orientation," in: AAL 4/1977, p 541.
22. Cf. A.G. Kokiev, "The Development of the National Democratic Revolution in Ethiopia," in: AAL 1/1977, p 99. As a followup to that also Gerhard Brehme, "On the Emergence and Development of the Revolutionary State Power of Socialist Ethiopia," in: AAL 6/1981, p 1070 ff.

23. Lt Col K.-U. Schloesser, "On the Political Role of the Armed Forces in Liberated Countries of Asia and Africa," in: MW 5/1982, p 60.
24. Lt Col K.-U. Schloesser, "On the Role of the Army in the Protection of Progressive Changes in Nationally Liberated States," in: MW 8/1981, p 23. Same author (footnote 15), p 72; Baatz (footnote 1), p 216.
25. "The Armed Struggle..." (footnote 4), p 405.
26. Schloesser (footnote 24), p 23.
27. While the countries of the Near East, Syria, Iraq, Libya and formerly Egypt received the latest weapons, the African allies of the Soviet Union for the most part had to be satisfied with cast-off military equipment. Thus the armed forces of Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia only possess T-34 tanks from World War II and T54/55 tanks, the first postwar model. Cf. "Arms for Africa, Military Assistance and Foreign Policy in the Developing World," ed. by Bruce E. Arlinghaus, Lexington Books 1983, p 46 ff.
28. Baatz (footnote 1), p 216.
29. Such a model can be found, e.g., in Herbert Wulf, "Conditions for an Independent Defense Concept in Developing Countries," in: "On the Road to a New World Economic Order?" Publisher: Hans-Dieter Evers, Dieter Senghaas et al., Baden-Baden 1983, pp 439-452.
30. Cf. Helmut Mardek, Raimund Kraemer, "Conflicts in the Area of the Developing Countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Some Remarks Concerning Questions of Contents and Methodology," in: AAL 4/1981, p 591.
31. "The Armed Struggle..." (footnote 4), pp 481, 485; "Soviet Military Encyclopedia" (footnote 2), p 538.
32. Klaus Willerding, "On the Africa Policy of the GDR," in DAP 8/1979, p 16.
33. Karl-Heinz Domdey, "Proletarian Internationalism and National-Democratic Revolution," in: AAL 6/1979, p 1129.
34. Cf. Kurt Krueger, "Solidarity of the GDR With the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America," in: DAP 10/1979, p 54.
35. Wynfred Joshua, Stephen P. Gibert, "Arms for the Third World, Soviet Military Aid Diplomacy," John Hopkins Press, Baltimore 1969, p 99 ff; "Communist Nations' Military Assistance," ed. by John F. Copper, Daniel S. Papp, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado 1983, p 83; Hans Siegfried Lamm, Siegfried Kupper, "GDR and Third World," Munich, Vienna 1976, p 145 ff.

36. Cf. Johannes Kuppe, "On the GDR-PLO Relationship Against the Background of the Fifth Near East War," in: DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV (DA) 10/1982, p 1014; Henning von Loewis of Menar, "The Political and Military Involvement of the German Democratic Republic in Black Africa. A Survey From 1953 to 1978," in: BEITRAEGE ZUR KONFLIKTFORSCHUNG 1/1978, pp 29 ff., 32, 39. The first GDR advisers are said to have been sighted in the People's Republic of the Congo in 1973, cf. "The Soviet Union in the Middle East. Policies and Perspectives," ed. by A. and K. Dawisha, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London 1982, p 74.
37. Schloesser (footnote 15), p 73.
38. Cf. "SIPRI Yearbook 1983," London 1983, pp 292 ff., 367 ff. The relations between the Soviet Union and its East European allies become evident in the following data which were published by the U.S. Department of State on the arms export of this group of states. Accordingly the Soviet Union from 1955 to 1981 concluded with all non-communist developing countries arms delivery contracts amounting to U.S. \$ 68,415 million, the East European states, contracts amounting to U.S. \$ 7,630 million. Actual deliveries amounted to U.S. \$ 49,415 million (USSR) and U.S. \$ 4,905 million (East European states), cf. U.S. Department of State, "Soviet and East European Aid to the Third World, 1981" Feb 83, p 4.
39. BUNDESTAGSDRUCKSACHE 8/3463, p 10.
40. "Interview with Heinz Hoffmann," in HORIZONT of 1 Jul 79.
41. GDR TV, 15 Nov 79, cited according to Deutsche Welle, Monitoring Service, 16 Nov 79, p 3.
42. Cf. Dale R. Herspring, "The Role of the Armed Forces in GDR Foreign Policy," in: "Three Decades of GDR Foreign Policy. Determining Factors, Instruments, Fields of Action," edited by Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, Gert Leptin et al., Munich, Vienna 1979, p 320 ff.; Joseph Dolezal, "Development, Aims, Methods and Instruments of GDR Foreign Policy in the Third World," in: "The Third World and the Two States in Germany," published by Siegfried Baske, Gottfried Zieger, Society for Germany Research, 1982 Yearbook, Asperg 1983, p 39.
43. Thomas H. Snitch, "East European Involvement in the World's Arms Market," in: "World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers 1972-1982," Publisher: U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington, D.C., Apr 84, p 121.
44. Cf. as regards this figure Loewis of Menar (footnote 36), p 46.

45. "World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers 1967-1976,"
 Publisher: U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Washington,
 D.C. 1978, p 131; 1968-1977, Washington, D.C. 1979, p 129;
 1969-1978, Washington, D.C. 1980, p 133. For comparison: The
 Yearbook of the Swedish Peace Research Institute SIPRI mentions
 the following export figures for the industrialized Warsaw Pact
 states (except for the USSR and Czechoslovakia), but limits
 itself to heavy arms systems (million U.S. dollars, constant
 prices--1975 base):

1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
2	-	2	-	5	-	-	-	2
1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982		
30	18	6	32	26	78	-		

cf. "SIPRI Yearbook 1983," p 292 ff.

46. The Swedish Peace Research Institute SIPRI guesses that following the 26th CPSU Congress in 1971 a division of labor among the Warsaw Pact states was made as regards military training of combat troops of the liberation movements as well as that of armed forces of individual developing countries. Accordingly, the CSSR is competent for artillery and tanks, the GDR for reconnaissance and air control, Poland for the training of pilots and paratroopers and Hungary for the training of the infantry. cf. "SIPRI Yearbook 1983," p 368.

47. "Arms for Africa" (footnote 27), p 87; "Communist Nations' Military Assistance" (footnote 35), p 75. This view is advocated above all also by the U.S. Department of Defense, cf. e.g., "Soviet Military Power 1983," Washington, D.C. 1983, p 92.

48. BUNDESTAGSDRUCKSACHE 8/3463, p 10.

49. According to U.S. sources, from 1955 to 1981 a total of 57,795 military from the Third World are said to have been trained in the Warsaw Pact states, cf. "Soviet and East European Aid to the Third World," 1981 (footnote 38), p 15.

50. The first number was mentioned by DIE ZEIT of 6 Nov 81, the second by the "SIPRI Yearbook 1980," London 1980, p 75. Even higher is an estimate by the Brookings Institution which claims to have noted 17,000 NVA members in 15 African states in 1978, cf. "Yearbook on International Communist Affairs 1979," Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, California 1979, p 38.

51. Juergen Gerhard Todenhoefer, "Southern Africa as an Example of the East/West--North/South Field of Tension," in: "The North-South Dialogue--Endangered by the East-West Conflict?" Published at the

behest of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Sankt Augustin 1981, p 36. Considering that the NVA has only 150,000 soldiers, it is not quite clear how such a figure can be determined.

52. Pointing to Arab sources, such a recent individual datum mentions, e.g., for Libya alone 5,652 GDR experts, cf. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 26 Aug 83, p 6.
53. "The Military Balance 1983-1984," publisher: The International Institute for Strategic Studies, London 1983, p 22. Same source 1982-1983, London 1982, p 22. Merely military personnel is included. The data in preceding years are less definite. Thus in the 1981-1982 edition, London 1981, p 19, concrete figures are provided only for Angola (800), Libya (1600) and South Yemen (100).
54. "World Military and Social Expenditures 1983," Editor: Ruth Leger Sivard, Washington, D.C., p 9. Same source, 1982, Washington, D.C. 1982, p 8. Military advisers are included.
55. Dolezal (footnote 42), p 38. His figure comprises military and similarly active civilian advisers and comes from an answer of the Federal Government to an interpellation of the CDU/CSU parliamentary group, BUNDESTAGSDRUCKSACHE 8/3463.
56. "Soviet Armament," Pentagon paper on Soviet armament with a foreword by Caspar W. Weinberger, Munich (1981), pp 66-69, in which the Pentagon study includes military and military-related civilian advisers together. The following two studies "Soviet Military Power" 1983 and 1984, Washington, D.C. do not provide any further detailed data concerning the GDR. In 1984 it is merely noted that the GDR provides 2/3 of the non-Soviet military advisers of the Warsaw Pact in the Third World, (p 124).
57. DER SPIEGEL, 3 Mar 80, p 43. Its figures are also found in "Arms for Africa" (footnote 27), p 85. They include military advisers only.
58. Joachim Nawrocki, "Armed Organs in the GDR. National People's Army and other Military and Paramilitary Forces," Berlin (West), pp 28-34. His figures include military and paramilitary advisers, experts for internal security and signal and telecommunications specialists. A little later Nawrocki corrected his figures. Thus for Nigeria he now refers to only 100 and for Angola to 2000 military and state security experts, asserts without providing any figures a military presence of the GDR in Benin, Zambia, and Tanzania, cf. "Honecker's People's Army Types in Africa and Near East," in: DIE ZEIT, 15 Feb 80.
59. Henning von Loewis of Menar, "Solidarity and Subversion. The Role of the GDR in Southern Africa," DA 6/1977, p 645; same author: "The GDR as Pioneer in the World Revolutionary Process. Concerning

Honecker's Visit to Ethiopia, and to Southern Yemen," in DA 1/1980, p 44 ff.; same author: "Power Politics South of the Zambesi. Zambia and Mozambique as Targets of GDR Foreign Policy," in DA 11/1980, p 1165; same author (footnote 36), p 13. In Ethiopia there are generally GDR experts (with breakdown in the case of Mozambique), in Zambia, military advisers.

60. "GDR Assistance for Developing Countries," in: EINHEIT (E) 10/1980, p 1082. The Pentagon study, however, did not assign any GDR experts to a number of countries such as Cuba, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Afghanistan even though their presence there is known. The GDR data, however, appear to include primarily "socialist" developing countries.
61. This theory was developed by Nawrocki among others (footnote 58), p 33. Skeptical in this respect: Dolezal (footnote 42), p 38; DER SPIEGEL, 3 Mar 80, p 43 ff. An Angolan denial in: Siegfried Fichte, "Angola in Danger," in: MW 5/1982, p 54. Critique from the GDR by Lt Col K. Geiling, philosophy degree: "Ideological Attacks Against the Role of the Socialist Military Power in the Revolutionary World Process," in: MW 8/1983, pp 69-73.
62. Lamm, Kupper (footnote 35), p 146; Ulrich Post, Franz Sandvoss, "The Africa Policy of the GDR, Papers from the Institute for the Study of Africa," Vol 43, Hamburg 1982, p 49.
63. Cf. in this connection in detail Hans-Joachim Spanger, Lothar Brock, "The Two German States in the Third World" (working title), in the process of publication.
64. As early as 1971 the Soviet Union had proposed in the UN that all permanent members of the UN Security Council (the United States, USSR, Great Britain, France, the People's Republic of China) should reduce their military budgets by 10 percent. The Warsaw Pact states have put this proposal more precisely in several declarations in 1983 and 1984 to the effect that the armament expenditures of NATO as well as of the Warsaw Pact at first should be not further increased and subsequently should be reduced. However, as long as the military budgets in East and West are not equally clear, in other words as long as their extent cannot be concretely established, such proposals are unlikely of implementation. Perhaps the recently started conversations on this topic between the party leaderships of the SPD and the CPSU will find a way.
65. Martin Robbe, "Developing Countries and World Peace, Observations on a multidimensional global set of problems," in: AAL 5/1984, p 795.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, OCTOBER 1985

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[Summary of article by Horst Dohlus, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo; 878-883. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Our Marxist-Leninist Party--a Party of Revolutionary Action

In the process of the shaping of the developed socialist society the SED turns out to be the decisive revolutionary force which, through improving the level, quality and effectiveness of its activity, satisfies the high and growing political leadership tasks. An answer is furnished to how the fighting strength of all party organizations is to be enhanced in the preparation and implementation of the party elections and the mass solidarity is to be deepened to motivate and mobilize the working people's concerted efforts in implementing the party course aimed at the well-being of the people and the securing of peace.

[Summary of article by Jochen Hertwig, graduate social scientist, SED Central Committee member and first secretary of the Frankfurt/Oder SED Bezirk Management, member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 884-889]

[Text] The Basic Organizations--Centers of Political Activity

By generalizing experiences in political leadership activity it is being shown how in the Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk party organization basic organizations prove themselves as the communists' political homestead and meet the growing requirements in preparing the party congress. A description is offered of the high performance opportunities for the 11th party congress, of exemplary work closely tied in with the masses, of the rigorous implementation of party resolutions down to party groups, and of observing the Leninist norms for party life and high-grade intra-party life as essential factors of the party's fighting strength.

[Summary of article by Dr Klaus Gaebler, SED Central Committee member and department head; pp 890-895. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] What Makes Ideological Work Highly Effective

By means of selected effective factors it is being shown how the tasks the 10th Central Committee session placed at the center of ideological work are to be fulfilled with high effectiveness. It is also being demonstrated how the ideological substance is to be enhanced and the ideological work to be organized and directed systematically to turn experience into understanding and shape further on that basis a political motivation for a high dedication to strengthen socialism and secure peace.

[Summary of article by Manfred Maschke, SED Central Committee party organizer in the Rostock VEB Fishing Combine; pp 896-900. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] On the Political Guidance of Economic Processes in the Combine

Optimum results are achieved wherever mass political work, the party organizations' dealing with the working people, is intensively and emphatically aimed at promoting activities and initiatives for the all-round strengthening of our country. What experiences have been gathered by the party secretaries council in the Rostock VEB Fishing Combine while leading the effort for high efficiency and effectiveness? What is party organization capacity aimed at right now to meet the standards of the new stage of the economic strategy?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Heinrich Gemkow, deputy director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute under the SED Central Committee; pp 901-907]

[Text] Friedrich Engels--Cofounder of Scientific Socialism and Champion for Peace

Friedrich Engels' life and work were determined decisively by his friendship with Karl Marx. Tribute is paid to Engels' outstanding share as cofounder of scientific socialism with reference to their joint elaboration of the materialist concept of history and of the political economy. Engels also prepared the first scientifically sound disarmament program in history, the basic demands of which still are highly relevant today.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Harry Nick, research chief, Institute of the Political Economy of Socialism at the Social Science Academy under the SED Central Committee; pp 908-912]

[Text] Man--the "Bustling Fire of Production"

The scientific-technological revolution makes a deep caesura in the history of mankind and leads to essential changes in men's conditions of existence and development. At all that, man remains the chief productive force in all the revolutionary processes in science and technology. Technology follows no goals of its own but human, social goals and interests. Whether the scientific-technological revolution proceeds for men's benefit or detriment cannot be explained by the revolution itself but depends on social circumstances.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Karlheinz Jentsch, general director of the VEB Wilhelm Pieck Mansfeld Combine, Eisleben; pp 913-917]

[Text] Experiences and Requirements in Consumer Goods Production

The general director of the Mansfeld Combine explains how modern production could be generated out of one's own capacity, starting with the first thoughts given to which consumer goods were to be put in production all the way to today's ideas about product updating. How could the necessary labor be recruited out of the combine, what about their training, and what is the role played today by the means of rationalization construction to get commodities onto the market that are in demand and sufficiently high-grade to become a credit to the combine.

[Summary of article by Dr Peter Franz, science associate at the Academy of Sciences of the GDR; pp 918-925]

[Text] The Blue Planet--Cradle and the Condition for the Existence of Mankind

The earth as a highly complicated developmental product of matter and a unique planet with highly developed life on it; the man-nature relation as a historic one; how to resolve mankind's future global problems connected with that relation. By presenting and explaining basic ideological questions of our time that are raised thereby, consequences for human action are also being explained that follow from having to preserve the earth as a source for future life.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Walter Wimmer, deputy department chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism under the SED Central Committee; pp 926-931]

[Text] Together Against Fascism and For Peace, Freedom and Progress

The KPD's Brussels conference is among the most important conferences in the history of our party. It drafted the pioneering policy for setting up working class united action and drawing all of Hitler's enemies together in a broad and comprehensive resistance front for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship and for peace, which then distinguished itself in a struggle rich in sacrifices. The ideas of that conference remained effective up to the social processes that evolved after the liberation.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Klaus Jarmatz, research department head at the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Cultural and Artistic Sciences of the SED Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences; pp 932-937. A full translation of this article is published in this report]

[Text] Literature and Art of Socialist Realism--Co-creators of Our Life

An art and literature being actively involved in the shaping of the socialist society is indispensable and irreplaceable to our intellectual life. The arts always are looking for new access to that reality and the ones acting in it. Their task is to create awareness for the values of socialism and to answer the question about a meaningful life. We need works in the center of which we find the history-shaping hero, the workers class and its representatives. Today the character of dialogue in the arts is coming to the fore. Not until its reception is a work of art complete, is the decision made whether the effects achieved were intended aesthetically.

[Summary of article by Dr Klaus Brade, scientific associate at the Central Institute for History, Academy of Sciences of the GDR; pp 938-943]

[Text] Apartheid in the Pillory

The forcible state terrorism of the apartheid regime reflects the deep crisis in that racist regime and comes with the attempt at modifying apartheid so as to salvage it over into the new century. What expresses the new stage of the national liberation movement, led by the ANC, in the struggle for an anti-imperialist, antiracist and democratic South Africa?

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DECADE OF USSR TREATY RELATIONS REVIEWED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 40 No 10, Oct 85 (signed to press 11 Sep 85)
pp 867-871

[Article by Dr Herbert Krolikowski, SED Central Committee member, state secretary and first deputy minister for foreign affairs: "A Treaty of Historic Significance"]

[Text] Ten years ago, on 7 October 1975, the GDR's national anniversary, the GDR-USSR friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty was signed in Moscow, carrying a validity that runs into the next millennium. The first decade of being in effect already has provided the evidence for that its signing was of the greatest importance for a continued dynamic fashioning of fraternal relations between the SED and the CPSU and between our two allied states and peoples. In bilateral relations as in multilateral collaboration the treaty proves a firm, unshakeable foundation for the all-round successful development of the GDR, the extension of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states in the socialist community, and the political efforts of the GDR in safeguarding peace and enforcing the peaceful coexistence policy.

The balance sheet that can be drawn up on all aspects of relations between the GDR and the USSR confirms the observation made jointly at the signing of the treaty that thereby the cooperation had attained a new and unprecedented level. The 40th anniversary of the liberation of the German people from fascism reflected the profound liaison and combat community of the Marxist-Leninist parties in our two states and their fraternally allied peoples.

Year after year many impulses have come from the treaty producing new important results of the close collaboration in all domains of political and social life. Everyday practice in this our decade confirms the assessment of the 10th SED Congress as follows: "We have in past years without a break further deepened our fraternal relations, particularly, with the Soviet Union in all sectors. That happened on the basis of the 7 October 1975 friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaty, bearing its fruit in life. The focus of our joint efforts is our two countries' still closer intertwining of their material and intellectual potentials to cope with tasks that range into the far distant future. That our peoples come closer to each other thereby constantly and that not only the ties on the various party and governmental levels, the economy, science and culture, and not last that of defense, rely on this process, but rich personal relations are established in ordinary human relations, expresses

how solidly all that we hold in common is rooted in life."*

The treaty, which set down as a concern of both states to "ensure, in accordance with the principles and goals of socialist foreign policy, the most favorable international conditions for establishing socialism and communism,"** has fully proven itself in the tough struggle for securing and preserving peace. Because of the exacerbated international situation due to the policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles, safeguarding peace and protecting the effort of socialist construction in both countries and in the entire community of socialist states is gaining a priority significance. In the complicated and tense and, as Comrade Gorbachev recently underscored, dangerous explosive situation, the cooperation of our Marxist-Leninist parties and of our states and peoples, aims in particular at eliminating the danger of nuclear war that is threatening mankind and at halting the arms race. The GDR emphatically endorses the propositions for the recovery of the international situation as submitted by the Soviet Union. It is a firm link in the socialist defense coalition and reliably fulfills all tasks incumbent upon it as a member country of the Warsaw Pact and because of the friendship and assistance treaty with the Soviet Union. On GDR territory, at the dividing line between socialism and imperialism, the NVA of the GDR and the Soviet Army stand united in close comradeship-in-arms.

Alongside the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states, the GDR in past years has undertaken not a few efforts in actively taking part in ensuring stable security in Europe and peaceful prospects for all peoples. In particular the GDR lets itself be guided by doing everything it can, in line with its historic obligation, so that never again war but always only peace emanates from German soil. The Soviet Union, the GDR and the other Warsaw Pact states are working at international conferences and in international organizations entirely in the sense of the 7 October 1975 treaty. Be it in the United Nations, at the Madrid CSCE meeting, at the Stockholm conference, in the Vienna negotiations or in Geneva--what counts everywhere is stopping the dangerous confrontation course and, as was expressed at the Helsinki session on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Final Act, reopening the way to political and, eventually, military detente.

The meetings held by the top representatives of both states, 20 such meetings between 1976 and May 1985, largely also served the struggle for international security and the reduction of tension. They documented that the GDR is forever tied to the Soviet Union in indestructible friendship and anchored insolubly within the socialist community.

*Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED" [SED Central Committee Report to the 10th SED Congress], Berlin, Dietz publishing house, 1981, p 20.

**"Voelkerrecht, Dokumente," Part III, Staatsverlag der DDR, Berlin, 1980, p 991.

Since the treaty was signed the range of relations has broadened extraordinarily in all sectors. One is working purposefully on solving common tasks and consolidating the material foundations of our fraternal alliance. Year after year the criteria and dimensions of our fruitful partnership are growing. The complex and diversified SED-CPSU relations have gained a new degree of intensity, substance and quality and regularity. Decisive initiatives for implementing the friendship and assistance treaty evolve from the meetings between the general secretaries. Thus there have been worked out the stipulations for elaborating and concluding long-term programs on the development of economic and scientific-technical relations and strengthening joint foreign policy acts in the struggle for the safeguarding of peace. A high point in the relations of fraternal friendship between our two parties, states and peoples was the cordial meeting of Comrade Erich Honecker with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. A special point may here also be made of the many meetings between party executive members and the existing solid working relations between the SED bezirk managements and their 18 partners in the CPSU.

New criteria were set in the course of the last decade for jointly solving current tasks and problems in long-term development in such decisive areas as economics, science and technology. The production specialization and co-operation program up to 1990, among other things, supports that. About the importance of this cooperation Comrade Erich Honecker wrote in a 7 May 1985 PRAVDA article: "Closely combining our potential with that of the Soviet Union makes possible for us the successful solution of those technological tasks on which at this time depends the level of an economy. Purposeful cooperation ultimately is an important key to tapping the advantages of socialism in this area, coping better all the time with the scientific-technological confrontation with imperialism, speeding up the boosting of labor productivity, and eventually overtaking the capitalist industrial states in this crucial field."^{*}

These requirements are fully taken account of by the "long-term program for the development of cooperation between the GDR and the USSR in the field of science, technology and production up to the year 2000," that was signed on the eve of the GDR's 35th anniversary. Both states have already signed important departmental accords that help solve the key problem, the speeding up of scientific-technological progress and an efficient use of its results for boosting economic growth.

Since the 7 October 1975 treaty was concluded the GDR-USSR parity government commission engaged in 19 sessions. Many accords were signed, and many of them have already been taken care of. Right now there are more than 200 governmental and ministerial accords in economically decisive sectors. The steady deepening of economic and scientific-technological GDR-USSR co-operation in the last 10 years became an important factor for increasing the productivity, efficiency and qualities in both states' economies. Characteristic has been the cooperation concentration in those areas that determine

^{*}Erich Honecker, "The World Historic Victory for Peace and a Happy Future for Mankind," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 9 May 1985, p 6.

the future, such as electronics, microelectronics, energetics, cybernetics, gene-technology, space research and others, and on rapidly transferring research data into production.

This scientific-technological and economic cooperation is a "collaboration beneficial and equitable to both sides, as it conforms to the nature of relations between socialist states led by their communist parties."^{*} The long-term program sets a solid and permanent basis for a quantitatively and qualitatively growing reciprocal interlinking of the GDR and the USSR economies, which more and more becomes a crucial growth factor for economic and social development in our closely allied states. This course fully conforms with the CEMA summit resolutions taken in June 1984 in Moscow on the joint advances made by the member states by way of intensification, acceleration of the scientific-technological progress, and a still more purposeful utilization of its economic results.

Within the scope of socialist economic integration, into which are drawn all branches of the GDR economy, some 350 combines and research institutions in our republic are working directly together with more than 450 Soviet partners. Some 80 percent of our science and technology state plan assignments is worked out in close cooperation with the USSR. Between 1981 and 1985 alone some 600 projects in scientific-technological cooperation are being implemented jointly. The transition to a new quality of cooperation between our two countries also is marked by the fact that, e.g., in 1983 the number of patents accepted for joint R&D results rose to 594 whereas in 1973 it still had been a modest eight.

Increasing economic interlinkage is also expressed by the exchange of goods. Between 1976 and 1980 it had come to valuta mark 177 billion but increased to 231 billion in the 1980-1984 period. For 1985 a volume of 70 billion was contracted for, an increase of over two and a half times over that of 1975 (26.5 billion valuta mark). Some 40 percent of the GDR's total foreign trade volume is transacted with the USSR. The GDR's share in the USSR's foreign trade comes to circa 11 percent, which turns the two countries into their biggest trade partners respectively.

In the outcome of this cooperation the Soviet Union sets aside our main import portions that are vital to our economy, like petroleum, coal, coke, ferrous and nonferrous metals, and basic chemicals. E.g., since 1981 the GDR has received from the USSR annually more than 17 million tons of petroleum, 6.4 billion cubic meters of natural gas, 4.4 million tons of rolled steel, 1.4 million cubic meters of cut timber, 740,000 tons of cellulose, and 82,000 tons of cotton. Of ever greater importance are the constantly increasing deliveries of products of the USSR's metal working industry to the GDR economy.

The GDR in turn exports to the USSR annually, among other things, chemical installations at a clip of 750 million valuta mark, electronic computer technology for some 850 million valuta mark, equipment for the metallurgical

^{*}Erich Honecker, "With the Soviet Union for Securing Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 2 September 1985, p 6.

industry for 500 million valuta mark, furniture and porcelain for 500 million valuta mark, 40 ships, some 2,000 refrigerator cars and long-distance passenger cars, 100,000 typewriters and 14 million square meters in textile floor covering. That way nearly one fifth of total USSR imports in machines and equipment bears the GDR trade mark.

The grown and further increasing scope of relations with the USSR, the new dimensions in cooperation in all fields opened up by the 1975 friendship treaty, have had pervasive effects on all domains of public life in our republic. It is not only the political-governmental and economic as well as scientific-technological relations that are becoming increasingly more intimate. Rather, it is also the personal ties of the working people in our countries that are developing through the numerous direct contacts between enterprises and institutions and in the scientific and cultural field.

The ever expanding experience exchange between production brigades and research collectives and the various relations among friendship societies and other social organizations can no longer be imagined as nonexistent in our life. Tourist exchange holds a solid place in this too. It has more than doubled since 1975, nearly tripled even in youth tourism. In 1985, circa 310,000 GDR citizens visited the Soviet Union and 120,000 Soviet working people paid visits to our republic.

The cultural and scientific cooperation between the two states also became much more diversified within the last 10 years. The new culture agreement of 1978 and the 5-year working plan agreed on in 1981 form long-term bases for comprehensive and high-quality cooperation between the two states in this field. Outstanding events were the GDR Culture Days held in the USSR on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the fouding of the GDR and the USSR Culture Days held in the GDR on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and the liberation of the German people. Those holidays turned into impressive political and cultural high points in the relations between our states and peoples. Millions of people in both countries experienced culture days in quality and scope never sponsored like these by either state in the other country. Much still could be said about this extensive field of cooperation. Not last one should recall that thus far a total of more than 19,000 citizens of our country received high-grade training in the USSR and that USSR students and young scientists also are studying at GDR academic institutions everywhere.

New strong impulses will emanate from the approaching great events in the life of our peoples, the 11th SED Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress, for a continuing implementation of the friendship treaty. Again one will see that the indestructible GDR-USSR alliance forms the firm foundation for our common efforts in solving new and higher tasks in the further shaping or perfecting of developed socialism, as the irrevocable combative community between the SED and the CPSU will safeguard our peoples' life in peace.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED GOALS, ACHIEVEMENTS LAUDED

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pp 878-883

[Article by Horst Dohlus, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo:
"Our Marxist-Leninist Party--a Party of Revolutionary Action"]

[Text] In analyzing and implementing the 10th Central Committee session resolutions, high energy was shown in respectably getting set for the 11th SED Congress in all sectors of public life, embracing all our party and, above and beyond its ranks, all classes and strata of the people. The various efforts are aimed at fulfilling the 10th party congress resolutions in every way and thereby creating the best preconditions for the new phase of social development in the GDR that gets started with the 11th party congress and extends into the 1990's, indeed even into the next millenium.

The broad people's movement toward the 11th party congress confirms how correct the certitude and orientation was that Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, expressed at the 10th Central Committee session when he said: "We are convinced party collectives will not be lacking in elan and initiative for taking the lead through good examples and worthwhile achievements in strengthening socialism and the peace struggle and mobilizing the working people for a continued successful implementation of our policy for the good of the people."*

Characteristic of it, above all, are the working people's creative participation in socialist competition and the plan discussion for working out the 1986 national economic plan, the youth initiatives for the urban design in our capital Berlin and in many other fields governed by the Ernst Thaelmann FDJ Rally, and the fine economic results achieved in the first half of 1985. The growth of the produced national income by 4.1 percent and of net industrial production by 8 percent as well as the high achievements in subsequent months to extend our accomplishments reflect the great initiative of the 2.2 million communists and all working people, through which they successfully carry out what the 10th party congress had resolved should be done.

*"Zur Vorbereitung des XI. Parteitages der SED, Aus der Rede des Genossen Erich Honecker, 10. Tagung des ZK der SED" [Getting Set for the 10th SED Congress--from Comrade Erich Honecker's Speech--10th SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1985, p 48.

With their successful balance-sheet on social development, the party and all the people thus are moving forward to the 11th party congress--providing a solid foundations for its resolutions.

Greater Tasks Call for a Growing Leadership Role for the Party

The SED fulfills the task assigned to it by the party program of "politically directing social development in the GDR on the basis of a scientific and sound strategy and tactics. It is the most important factor in successfully shaping the society fashioned by the victorious revolutionary workers class."* In the great people's movement toward preparing the 11th party congress we find confirmed anew our party's ability of functioning in an organized and consciousness-molding manner through its clear and reasonable social strategy, mobilizing the working people for implementing the high tasks, placing party members at the peak of the struggle on all sectors, and further deepening the relationship of trust that exists between the party and the people.

Thus our Marxist-Leninist party, through the target-directed application of the 10th Central Committee session resolutions, by which higher demands are made and the look at the GDR of tomorrow was broadened, proves, through tried and tested continuity, a party of revolutionary action, one that is there for the people and for which, in the struggle for carrying through working class interests, words and deeds conform with each other--wholly in Lenin's sense, who pointed out: "Sincerity in politics means conformity between word and deed that anyone may test."**

The needed further growth of the party's leadership role and of the level of work for all executive party organs and every communist derives from the new tasks for strengthening socialism and from the altered conditions in international struggle:

1. The main task course with its united economic and social policies, confirmed by the 10th Central Committee session, determines the work of the party and of all the people over the long run. Comrade Erich Honecker pointed out that the SED will cross the threshold to the year 2000 with this policy. It is among the essential experiences in implementing the main task, issued by the eighth party congress and proven well since then, that the impulses of socialist social development come into play all the more effectively, the more extensively the interests of the workers class and of all working people are perceptibly implemented day-by-day. The economic performance growth needed for that can be ensured only through the comprehensive intensification of all sectors of the economy and of all phases of the reproduction process, through closely combining the scientific-technological revolution with the advantages of socialism--tasks that challenge the leadership capacity of the party organizations at new dimensions.

*"Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 65.

**V. I. Lenin, "Whom Are You Laughing About? About Yourselves!" "Werke" [Works] Vol 24, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 580.

2. To our party, peace is the most precious gift to mankind. Preserving it remains the most important task today in view of the serious threat to world peace emanating from the most aggressive U.S. and NATO circles. All the more necessary it is to root deeply in the thoughts and actions of the people the connection life has demonstrated between secure peace and strong socialism. Firmly allied with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal states we have to strengthen the unity of the socialist community and help having all potentials given by this community fully exhausted to ensure despite the more complicated international conditions both the growing tasks in the further construction of socialism and also always its defense. That implies an exemplary fulfilment of all obligations resulting from our coordinated economic and foreign policy and the treaties concluded.

3. The subjective factor is gaining increasing importance in the further shaping of the developed socialist society. "We maintain that even in the computer-based era man with his work, his abilities and--lest we forget--his needs remains the center of all events."* The further acceleration of social progress depends on conscious action oriented to new tasks and on the working people's dedication and creativeness because man is the most important and crucial productive force and the target of all action in socialism. Political-ideological work, working with people, thus is and remains the primary and priority task of party work, its centerpiece. Through the public debate in preparation for the 11th party congress we have to reach all citizens and to give them answers to the domestic and foreign policy questions of our time, in connecting the main policy lines still more concretely with the questions of the working environment and the day-by-day life of people and paying attention to their suggestions and recommendations.

The tasks the Central Committee has worked out contain an orientation to the future that furnishes the communists and all citizens with certainty of prospects, strengthens their optimism, counters speculations and fosters performance dedication. It clearly differs from the somber prognoses in the capitalist countries and attests to the SED's real leadership capacity and to its political creativeness in elaborating and specifying its Marxist-Leninist course in conformity with changing internal and external requirements.

Again it has been confirmed: No bourgeois party can respond to men's vital questions progressively. Confirmed again is the remark by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, in the Communist Manifesto, that the bourgeoisie finds no real way out of the economic crises situation because it "overcomes" them by "paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented."**

Only a party that is, theoretically and practically, up to the task of its era, knows how to apply the universal inevitabilities creatively and is solidly tied up with the masses, only a Marxist-Leninist party, that is to say, can show the working people the way into the future, lead proceeding that way and ensure a joint and successful work for the good of the people. The SED is such a party:

*Erich Honecker, "Construction Makes Outstanding Contribution to Strengthening the GDR and Safeguarding Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 15/16 June 1985, p 3.

**"Communist Manifesto," "Werke," Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 468.

In everyday life, in the perception of people, it turns out, it lives up fully to its historic role of a vanguard, as a party of the workers class and all the working people, fully responsible to the destiny of our country's citizens and to its internationalist obligations.

Purposely the Party Raises Its Fighting Strength and All Communists' Energy

New demands made on the socialist society of the GDR is something our party always and first of all regards as higher demands made on itself, its leadership activity, and each communist's activity. It is appropriate to the role of the SED as the decisive revolutionary force of our society, that from the growing political leadership tasks--wholly in the sense of the party program and statute--it always derives the higher demands made on the level, quality and effectiveness of its own activity and orients all communists toward it.

This goal is served by the party elections and by the individual talks with all members and candidates preceding them. Thereby our party harnesses itself in preparation for the 11th party congress politically and organizationally for coping with the new tasks.

Well prepared, the SED in October 1985 starts the status reports and new executive elections in the 94,000 party groups, 26,754 departmental party organizations and 58,247 basic organizations. Party elections always are high points in the life of the party that make high demands on the executives of the basic organizations and the leading party organs. The 1985/86 party elections gain their special political weight through the preparations for the 11th party congress that is going to conclude the next stretch on the road in shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR. The party elections' basic concern is "to orient the party to future requirements, further elevate its fighting strength, and providing all comrades, male and female, with what they need for their active participation, especially also for the political mass activity."*

The party collectives' management activity and efforts have to be directed at having all party organizations come out of the party elections stronger politically and organizationally and at further elevating the party's leadership role, its mobilizing impact on all public domains. That goal will be achieved when in the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences, through creative, businesslike and even critical consultation and concrete resolutions, all prerequisites are created for

--enhancing the ideological substance and massive effectiveness of political-ideological work further and deepening the people's confidence in party policy;
--strengthening the party collectives' political responsibility for continued economic growth in the GDR and their influence and share in it;
--meeting with still more initiative and readiness the grown requirements for the all-round strengthening of socialist state power, of the further development of socialist democracy and of the reliable protection of socialism;
--better enforcing the increasing complexity in the social development of their own efforts to solve political, economic, scientific-technical, social and cultural tasks; and

*"Zur Vorbereitung . . .," op. cit., p 44.

--further elevating the action capability of the party collectives, their strength of political radiation, their mass solidarity and the activity and combat readiness of every communist in line with the proven maxim, "wherever there is a comrade, there is the party, too," and more broadly developing volunteer work.

Under the aspect of the higher requirements we must during the party elections accurately account for the campaign programs in the basic organizations and the resolutions and plans of operations of bezirk and kreis managements at their delegates conferences as well as the commitments assumed by the work collectives, realistically rate results, transfer the best experiences to all, and stake out the next steps concretely.

Party organizations ought to pay attention to becoming completely clear about the tasks ahead and conveying such certainty through effective ideological work to all working people. That way alone it will become possible to make still more use of the advantages of socialism in the new phase of intensification and ensure economic dynamics permanently.

It is significant to elect comrades into the new party executives who are certain to present a working style of mass solidarity, combative elan and richness of ideas in implementing the 11th party congress resolutions for the years ahead. The reservoir of cadres our party has educated for it systematically is large. Hundreds of thousands of comrades in the party executives are willing and able to perform such responsible voluntary party work even after the requirements have risen. Many comrades among our workers, especially also young cadre from the FDJ and the youth brigades, have proven themselves and can help further elevate the level of management activity. Also the proportion of 35 percent of female comrades in our party and their political and technical expertise are pointing to great chances for reinforcing managements on all echelons.

Confident Personal Talks Foster Activities in Basic Organizations

Confident individual talks with all members and candidates carried out in connection with checking and bringing up to date the party registries amounted to fruitful political action within the perimeter of the 11th party congress and perfectly normal in SED development, which boosted our party's fighting strength. This helped enhance the party's leadership role and further reinforce its unity, purity and cohesion. It gave an impressive picture of the struggle of the comrades and their party organizations in applying the 10th Central Committee session resolutions.

Higher energy was instilled into the communists' activities because they sensed in the talks that their social effectiveness and work performance are acknowledged but also discovered more clearly where the party expects more of them yet and better things. The thorough analysis of the party's confident dialogue with all comrades in membership meetings of the basic organizations and the party commissions assigned in the talks after thorough consultation strengthen the party's action capability at the base and its mass influence. Many of the valuable recommendations and suggestions made in the conversations

among the comrades have been thoroughly discussed in the party collectives and are leading to a higher level of party work, to still better effectiveness and vividness of intra-party life, especially in membership meetings. It is up to the kreis managements to analyze conscientiously and with discrimination the conversations conducted, above all, with the party secretaries and the management members of basic organizations and with deputies and state and economic functionaries, so that they will derive conclusions from all that for their own work that would, in particular, aim at strengthening operational support everywhere and at comradely relations with such comrades.

Some basic organizations assumed distance from some members and candidates who failed to meet the standards of the party statute. Thereby they strengthened their ranks, their activity, and their political radiation toward unaffiliated working people and enhanced the party's reputation. Altogether, because of these individual talks the communists have moved closer together still, their concrete political and ideological tasks were more clearly defined, and the party gained in fighting strength. That has positive effects on the broad people's movement toward the 11th party congress.

People's Movement and Popular Debate on the 11th Party Congress--An Expression of the Party's Firm Bonds with the Masses

The large movement of the workers class and all the people, led by the SED, toward worthily preparing for the 11th party congress, with the political mass efforts marked by vital public debate and with the important initiatives for a continued successful implementation of the SED's economic strategy, embraces two inseparable aspects of the party's further social development and leadership activity.

It is incumbent on each communist that wherever he works, learns and lives, he constantly engage in political conversation, answer questions people raise, react to their suggestions and take care of finding solutions when needed. Then there comes also a greater responsibility for the managements in well enabling the comrades to apply in a coordinated and purposeful manner, and in their total breadth, new experiences and proven methods in political mass activity. That calls for pertinent, thorough and discriminating situation assessments and for ascertaining opinions and moods, to be able to argue with rich ideas and get to the heart of the matter. A basic concern of ideological work is further deepening everywhere a healthy, optimistic atmosphere and the working people's unshakeable trust in the party's policy of solidarity with the people, translating all that all the time into new deeds for the strengthening of socialism and the safeguarding of peace.

Further party tasks in preparing the 11th party congress touch a broad spectrum of purposeful work by the leading party organs and basic organizations. It embraces the resolute further development of the level of management activity by the bezirk and kreis managements and their secretariats, their collectivity, the complexity of their work, their operational management style, which must be aimed more at assisting the basic organizations, as well as elevating the fighting strength of the basic organizations as the party's link with all working people, the intensification of their vital work with the people, and the strengthening of its mobilizing influence, particularly on the continued successful implementation of the party's economic strategy.

For solving the growing tasks our party has firm principles which it keeps solidifying. Struggling for the implementation of the 10th party congress resolutions, it matured and became richer in experiences. More than 300,000 new comrades in our ranks--225,000 of them workers--and the increase in the number of basic and departmental party organizations by more than 5,000 have since the 10th party congress anchored the party politically and organizationally still more solidly in all public domains and elevated its direct political-ideological influence. The comrades in the basic organizations are going to provide great attention and support to the 100,000 new young comrades who through their FDJ Ernst Thaelmann Rally have reinforced SED ranks for the 11th party congress.

The communists gained much political and technical expertise since the 10th party congress. Today 45.5 percent of the membership and candidates has had party training, 37 percent, college and technical school training. That is very fruitful for party work. New potentials in maturity and campaign experience were gained by the party working jointly with all working people on implementing the tasks in preparation for the 40th anniversary of liberation, as assigned by the ninth and 10th Central Committee sessions and the Central Committee secretariat conference with the kreis first secretaries.

Making more use still of all these potentials and turning them to effect, extending them--that is an important demand made on the party congress preparations. To live up to that needs implies above all further raising the level of intra-party life as a source for unified and cohesive action by all comrades in implementing the party resolutions, whereby they help our party to stand up as a party of revolutionary action also in the new phase of social development, in which the people have trust because the supreme goal of its policy is and remains the well-being of the people.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

STRUCTURE, SIGNIFICANCE OF IDEOLOGICAL WORK EXAMINED

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[Article by Dr Klaus Gaebler, SED Central Committee member and department head:
"What Makes Ideological Work Highly Effective"]

[Text] The preparation for the 11th party congress is marked by our party's high political-ideological activity in the mass movement toward strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace and in the people's debate on the burning domestic and foreign policy issues of our time. While staking out the further stretch in the road of shaping the developed socialist society in our country, the party congress will move into our field of vision goals extending beyond 1990 up to the turn of the millenium. In its fraternal alliance with the USSR and firmly anchored within the community of socialist states, the GDR has to cope with tasks of great significance.

High demands arise from it for the political-ideological work, the core of party work. What matters, after all, is to deepen further the relationship of trust, the bond between the party and the people, since that mainly holds the pledge for coping with present and future tasks. All this, as Erich Honecker remarked at the 10th Central Committee session, calls for "further elevating the ideological content and massive effectiveness of political-ideological work."*

Political-ideological work is massively effective--as demonstrated in practice--when it makes the more profound connections, the inevitabilities, comprehensible while proceeding from life, from men's political struggle and experiences, molds convictions, and motivates and mobilizes revolutionary action toward implementing the party resolutions. Domestic and foreign policy issues concerning the citizen have to be settled so persuasively so as to firmly root within men's thoughts, feelings and actions our theoretically founded ideological positions, the basic verities of our Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Thereby precisely millions of people will be placed in the position where they can judge in a class-bound manner domestic events as well as the complicated and contradictory worldwide

*"Zur Vorbereitung des XI. Parteitages der SED, Aus der Rede des Genossen Erich Honecker, 10. Tagung des ZK der SED" [In Preparation for the 11th SED Congress--From Comrade Erich Honecker's Speech--10th SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1985, p 44.

processes, and so socialism is energized. "Effective political-ideological mass activity and good agitprop are marked by that they furnish an answer to topical problems while dealing with basic issues in our policy and world-outlook."^{*}

The ideological substance of political-ideological work in its multiple forms proves time and time again a fundamental effective factor. Without familiarity with the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin, without thinking in terms of dialectical materialism, and without appropriating the theoretical achievements and practical experiences of our party, the developing and deepening of socialist consciousness in millions of citizens in our country would be inconceivable.

Our ideology has to be studied systematically, disseminated relevantly, and applied in the struggles of our time, in revolutionary practice. That implies an aggressive confrontation with imperialist ideology in its manifold manifestations. Wholly in this sense our party program links the basic concern of our political-ideological work with the demand made on every communist to be a combatant on the ideological frontline.

Socialist Accomplishments--Our Best Arguments

That which has, in the outcome of our good party policy, been achieved by and for the people is of fundamental importance for the effectiveness of our ideological work. It forms the fertile soil, as it were, for effective, successful agitprop activity. The masses trust the party because of its policy that is aimed at the well-being of man and the safeguarding of peace and is perceptible and verifiable to everyone. The bond with the socialist state depends on that. The facts in our life prove the strongest arguments.

The main task course, held steady by now for nearly one and a half decades, has given us national income growth rates of more than 4 percent per annum--between 1981 and 1984, 4.4 percent at the average. That furnished all citizens with a measure of social security and safety which the working people in the capitalist countries cannot even dream of. While in 1980 we achieved a national income of M 187 billion, in 1984 it had already come to M 222 billion. The highest annual growth rate so far was reached in 1984, by M 11.7 billion. Whereas between 1977 and 1980 the increase came to M 29 billion, it reached M 35 billion in the last 4 years. These are fruits of labor each citizen comes to enjoy.

Since the eighth party congress in 1971 we have been engaged in solving the housing problem as a social problem by 1990. We finished 2.4 million apartments since then. Another million will be added by the end of this decade. So the centerpiece of our social policy is turned into reality step by step. Which social order other than socialism could ever have formulated such a goal? And then we get annually new additional nursery and kindergarten vacancies, classrooms, gyms and youth clubs, vacancies in old-age and nursing homes, material premises for our socialist educational system, our public health, culture and art. Important production growth rates thus facilitate far-reaching

^{*}Erich Honecker, "Approaching the 11th Party Congress with Growing Energy," NEUER WEG, No 4, 1985, p 134.

social advances and project ever more clearly in life the whole meaning of socialism--which has always been and will remain the target and mission of the communists.

Decisive for the strength of conviction in our ideological work is that in the process of the socialist revolution in the GDR the objectives and ideals of the revolutionary workers movement become reality. Ernst Thaelmann's 100th birthday and the 40th anniversary of the KPD-SPD merger into the SED ought to occasion an effective account of the stretch behind us, of how we have been fulfilling, step by step, the legacy of our revolutionary movement since Marx and Engels in the GDR. More awareness of the struggles and victories in that period, of the revolutionary traditions of the German workers movement and of our entire progressive humanistic heritage taps an important source of our strength and of socialist consciousness development, of the pride in what the GDR has achieved and of our bond with and love for our homeland. Social security and comfort for all working people prevail in our country. Steady social progress is under way, and the fundamental human rights, like the right to work, to education for all, and to equality between the sexes, are ensured.

These achievements of socialism, for all that, are no free gift to our country, they do not gratuitously fall into our lap, but are the outcome of fundamental social changes, of the work, talent and diligence of the working people. Because the issue of political power was definitively settled for the benefit of the workers class and all the working people and the exploitation of man was eliminated by creating socialist production and property relations, the GDR, under SED leadership and thanks to the people's creativeness, was able to become the politically stable, economically efficient, culturally blossoming and worldwide recognized state of today. The people themselves created their history in the revolutionary way. They know what they have got in socialism, what makes working worthwhile and what needs defending.

For the conviction that it pays to give one's best for our good cause rich documentary material is offered by what is now going on in the capitalist countries, by comparing the two social systems. Remember all the prospects the imperialist ideologues prophesied their society in the 1960's, for example. Then, in their euphoria about the possibilities of the scientific-technological revolution they were banking on, they predicted for capitalism a development free of crises and without class contradictions. U.S. presidents proclaimed the "war against poverty" and the emergence of a so-called great society without misery and underprivilege. And what has come of it? In the 1970's and 1980's capitalism got into its deepest cyclical crises that more and more closely combined with the general crisis. It cannot overcome the mass unemployment which, lasting as long as it has, generates an army of the "new poor." Millions of people--as it was understood already by Karl Marx, as an inevitability--are driven, by capitalist profit greed, into dread, insecurity and poverty, while the youth is deprived of all prospects.

All these facts document that the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the historic obsolescence of capitalism, especially Lenin's imperialism theory, is correct, is indeed more pertinent today than ever. Neither intellectually nor in practice has imperialism the ability to find solutions for the now prevailing

problems of humanity. Its ills and crimes and the laws of its decline give rise to the inevitable genesis of the new, the socialist society.

Sure Prospects

In these times of struggle we have a sound scientific conception for how the developed socialist society is being shaped further in order to create thereby fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. That sharpens the view to what is ahead and provides optimism and self-assurance in public and personal affairs; it reinforces the readiness to strengthen by deeds in every way and protect reliably at all time the first workers and farmers power on German soil.

The 10th Central Committee session has vastly broadened our view to what is ahead, to what reflects our historic optimism while it conforms to the expectations of our people. Erich Honecker has said: "Our people expect us to defend their right to a life in peace and freedom based on socialist production relations with the same circumspection and resolve that we have shown in the years behind us and to ensure another upswing of prosperity through encouraging their will to perform."^{*}

As our party program scientifically and soundly reflects these expectations, it is an essential prerequisite for future-oriented political-ideological mass activity, to be quite familiar with that document and have recourse to it time and time again. We find a scientific strategy in it for carrying on the socialist revolution in the GDR. We have at our disposal a theory on the developed socialist society that was elaborated jointly with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties. And in the economic strategy of the 10th party congress we have a sound scientific guideline for coping with the economic tasks of the 1980's and for converting our economy to comprehensive intensification. We know the direction in which the cooperation with the community of socialist states will deepen further. And we have a clear program for preventing a nuclear inferno and securing peace. All this gives our people sure prospects.

The conviction to be advancing the correct way is a source for revolutionary energies and the foundation for answering many questions aggressively: Who, which society, holds the offensive today? To whom will the future belong? Who has practicable solutions for the problems of today and tomorrow?

Strengthening Socialism, Securing Peace

A key issue in the whole people's debate is and remains the dissemination and consolidation of the realization: The stronger socialism, the more secure is peace. The unity of socialism and peace, expressed in this popular slogan, which largely governs the thinking and actions of our country's citizens, turns out to be an extraordinarily strong impulse. That is demonstrated, not last, by public announcements from many citizens in which they explain their personal motives for higher achievements and for diligent

^{*}"Zur Vorbereitung . . .," op. cit., p 8.

and conscientious work precisely out of this context. Day-by-day efforts on the bottom line is a piece of work for peace. That was eloquently expressed by the top performance work shifts for world peace day.

History and their own lives demonstrate to the working people that to our party peace is the most precious good of humanity and preserving it, the most important task of our days. That the fight against the rapacious and annexation war policy of the exploiter classes has always been a component of the work of the revolutionary German workers movement has furnished crucial motives for their posture. Committed to that great tradition, the German antifascist resistance fighters swore after the liberation from Hitler fascism to do all they could through concerted efforts so that never again would war emanate from German soil. And we are acting in allegiance to that oath.

It is only natural that new questions are raised by the struggle for safeguarding peace and by new developments in the international situation. So it continues to be necessary, in view of the especially serious threat to peace emanating from the Star Wars plans of the most aggressive imperialist U.S. and NATO circles, to explain to all citizens the causes for the war danger today and demonstrate that the realistic and constructive peace initiatives from the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other fraternal countries show the way to securing peace and to detente and disarmament. All efforts are concentrated on halting the arms race on earth and preventing it in space. A peace struggle all the more now, for preventing nuclear world war and ending the arms race, that mainly means creative efforts for the all-round strengthening of socialism, maintaining the military-strategic equilibrium the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact countries achieved vis-a-vis the United States and NATO, arms limitation and disarmament negotiations on the principle of equality and equal security, continuing the policy of dialogue, and promoting the collaboration of all those who follow reason and realism.

The weight the socialist countries can place in the scale of history in ensuring a military-strategic equilibrium in the world and enforcing the peaceful coexistence policy essentially depends on the development of their economic capacity. Therefore we must make all citizens aware of that especially in the current phase of the historic conflict between socialism and capitalism our economic successes will most affect the course of world history.

Encouraging Dedication

The resolute implementation of the economic strategy therefore forms the main substance of ideological work. What matters mainly is to ensure permanently economic growth through comprehensive intensification. The crucial task there is and remains a better economic utilization of scientific-technological data. And that, first and foremost, makes a great demand on the people because they are the chief productive force and they direct the intensification process and organize it and make it permanent through their knowledge and deliberate acts, while they are also the beneficiaries of its results. Their well-being is the measure for all economic effectiveness. It always involves the meaning of socialism, the better satisfaction of men's growing material and intellectual

needs on the basis of high economic performance improvements. The new phase in intensification, of which the so-called key technologies are characteristic and that is linked with the rationalization and modernization of existing production equipment, calls for a comprehensive use of the advantages of socialism for coping with the scientific-technological revolution. First and foremost it includes the close entwining of science with production and of research institutions with combines, which has become the basic form of the social organization of socialist large-scale production in our country. For propaganda, the need arises from that to combine more closely the study of the basic problems of the political economy of socialism with solving practical tasks.

That poses at once questions of principle regarding the further development of a socialist attitude toward work and the public property and of conscious discipline, order and security. Agitprop, precisely, is successful in this field when it is concrete and relates to tasks and is businesslike. There is this principle, that must be taken to heart everywhere, of well preparing all decisions, all measures, together with the people, picking up their suggestions, recommendations and ideas, as it were, and including the working people in translating their propositions into facts. A special concern is to disseminate the experiences of the best units, tap new reserves through performance comparison, and surmount unjustified disparities in levels.

Purposeful Use of Educational Opportunities

Based on accomplishments including the advances in ideological work, what matters during the party elections is "to orient the party to the requirements for the future, further elevate its fighting strength, and provide all comrades, male and female, with all they need for their active participation, especially also for their political mass activities."* All opportunities of intra-party life, the rich treasure of experiences in political-ideological work, must be used for it.

That demands of all communists that they will constantly work on the expansion and deepening of their theoretical knowledge, for which mainly the party schools and the party study year give them the opportunities. During studies and in the discussions each comrade can and should thoroughly appropriate the results and lessons of the SED's creative efforts in implementing the ideas of scientific socialism on German soil in the peace struggle.

That is the reason why basic organization managements and secretaries do not, for example, merely record the orderly organizational implementation of the party study year, but also bring their influence to bear on the substantive way of running circles and seminars. They advise the propagandists on all the ideological questions that must be clarified, on the problems for which arguments have to be elaborated, and on the consequences to be derived therefrom for the practical work.

Schools for socialist and cooperative work hold a solid place within the party's mass activity. More than 4 million working people, mostly unaffiliated ones, attend them monthly. They discuss basic ideological matters in close connection with the concrete processes of intensification in their fields of work. This must not bring it about, however, that they be turned into some

*Ibid., p 44.

sort of production consultation. Selecting skilled discussion leaders and working with them therefore becomes a very responsible tasks for party organization managements.

To cope with the task of tommorrow it is of the greatest importance that the youth gets trained and educated in Marxism-Leninism. Thus one must consider the FDJ study year--without any prejudice to the FDJ responsibility--an important party priority. What matters is effectively assisting FDJ managements and FDJ study year propagandists in conducting vivid and interesting discussions about political-ideological issues with the young people. And the party's educational institutions bear a special responsibility for it.

The society's effort in disseminating scientific knowledge holds an important place in the dialogue between the party and the masses on ideological issues. Experience has shown that the quality and effectiveness in the activities of Urania largely depend on how well the speakers have learned to take a political stand and develop ideological knowledge by way of matter-of-fact problems. Party kreis executives should see to it that popular science-work is spread in the whole breadth of social and natural and technical science topics and that outstanding personalities in the territory are recruited into offering effective science propaganda.

All our experiences confirm the following realization: Ideological work has to be carried out strictly and be organized, must be developed in conformity with higher objective social requirements and growing intellectual pretensions. Therefore it is stated in the SED Central Committee directive for the party elections: "All party organizations discuss and decide how to heighten the ideological content and mass effectiveness of political-ideological work so as to deepen the confidence of our country's citizens in party policy and challenge day after day again their deliberate actions on behalf of the cause of socialism and peace and the implementation of the Central Committee resolutions."*

*"SED Central Committee Directive for Conducting the 1985/86 Party Elections," NEUER WEG, No 14, 1985, p 549.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

POLITICAL PRIMACY IN ECONOMIC DECISIONS EXEMPLIFIED

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[Article by Manfred Maschke, SED Central Committee party organizer in the Rostock VEB Fishing Combine: "On the Political Guidance of Economic Processes in the Combine"]

[Text] Activities by the party organizations in the Rostock VEB Fishing Combine, in preparing for the 11th SED Congress, are governed by coping with the requirements for the new stage of our party's economic strategy, guiding the communists' efforts toward it, motivating the working people for an adequately high performance contribution, informing them expertly and drawing them into the solving of the tasks from the outset. To reach high economic results is the centerpiece of management activity in our basic organizations. We are resolutely carrying on the struggle for steady everyday plan fulfilment, for a targeted overfulfilment of the quotas assigned to us in the 1985 national economic plan.

Our party organizations can rely on good results and experiences in the implementation thus far of the economic strategy of the 10th party congress. After 109,500 tons of fish and fish products had been made available to the population in 1980, it came to circa 118,600 tons in 1984. With it, our fleet's fuel consumption was dropped by an average 5 percent annually. That is a saving which, at the scope of our fishing and fish processing fleet and in view of the partly rather remote fishing areas, already adds up to 5,500 tons of diesel fuel this year. Our combine experienced a steady performance growth by involving all the working people in solving the tasks. We made headway toward comprehensive intensification in seeing their initiative challenged and encouraged by expert management work. That also applies to our further work in the new stage of the economic strategy.

Through a purposeful tapping of further reserves and high increase rates in labor productivity and production efficiency we intend to make more products available, especially to the population, and, with it, further reduce specific expenditures. More than 120,000 tons of fish and fish products are expected to reach the consumers still this year. Thereby the working people in the fishing combine will exceed the commitments they assumed in honor of the 11th party congress.

Such results are attainable only when vivid party work aims directly at developing a creative climate in the party and work collectives and encourages the working people's discipline, innovator spirit and commitment, and when the comrades, as role models, are in the lead. Their work and their political-ideological efforts in the collectives are to make everybody aware of the reason that gives such crucial importance to the scientific-technological progress and what it means today to strengthen socialism and to do everything for the good of the people and the safeguarding of peace.

Purposeful Consolidation of Fighting Strength

The central management of the party organization in the Rostock VEB Fishing Combine--the combine's parent enterprise--assumes that an exemplary effect on all the enterprises in the combine has to come from the economic capacity of that enterprise and its nearly 2,700 communists. And the party secretaries council does well here, made up of the party secretaries of all enterprises including the secretaries of the eleven basic organizations in the parent enterprise.

The main effort lies in forming unified campaign positions in the basic organizations. After all, cohesive action is among the prerequisites for meeting the high performance and efficiency goals in conformity with the criteria for the new stage in our party's economic strategy in all combine enterprises. One example for forming such positions is the elaboration and realization of refinement conceptions in the fishing combine. In implementation of the goals assigned, under the general director's responsibility, as for the fulfilment of all economic tasks, each basic organization must be enabled to determine its concrete contribution to the implementation of the economic tasks and purposefully engage in the struggle to fulfil them resolutely. Through close cooperation with state management and the managements of the party and the mass organizations and the high-sea fishermen, engineers, economists and other working people, the good experiences of all collectives gained in managerial examples have been conveyed. They determine the content of socialist competition and form the basis of constant performance development. The implementation of this conception is a priority in our political-ideological work and is subject to party control besides.

Attaining highest results in preparation for the 11th SED Congress, to keep strengthening socialism all-around and keep successfully implementing the main task in its united economic and social policies requires of the party secretaries council, together with the competent kreis managements, their helping the basic organizations in combining especially closely in their work the political-ideological and the economic tasks. The net production plan is supposed to be succeeded at a clip of three full day capacities. This obligation is to be fulfilled without any recourse to additional funds. All the more necessary it is to make everybody aware that the combine's performance is gauged against a stable plan fulfilment, proper as to assortments and qualities. And that calls for the proper volume in goods with a constant cost reduction per production unit, a considerable drop in production consumption, especially in material and energy consumption, and a faster increase in labor productivity as compared with basic assets allocations. These are the chief sources for intensive growth and rapid performance development and for constantly improving public supplies.

Through the party secretaries council each basic organization's political-ideological and organizational work is resolutely being oriented to turning the rapid utilization of science and technology data throughout into the decisive growth factor by way of intensive extended reproduction. We assume that our own science and technology requirements must be derived from a thorough knowledge of international standards and must meet the highest demands. In getting set for the 11th party congress, we shall qualitatively improve our own scientific-technological performance and, in line with our conception, create the first CAD/CAM solutions in the parent enterprise of the combine. It also is of great importance for our performance and efficiency development that we combine the general repairs for our ocean fishing fleet with introducing new technologies and complex modernization, which will lead at once to savings in working hours and improving the working and living conditions aboard.

The political activity of the party executives and the party secretaries council must more be geared to analytical work to uncover in crucial areas the causes for disparities in results achieved and for unacceptable level inequities, so that ways are found to do away with them. A concrete knowledge of the circumstances is a decisive factor that makes possible elaborating sound scientific long-term developmental goals, determining priorities for higher achievements and solutions, and concentrating the party capacity and party influence on it while strengthening party controls.

Through the party organizations' close cooperation with the trade unions and the FDJ, the confident work with the working people, the promotion of initiatives, mainly among the innovators, rationalizers and youths, is aimed at rapidly generalizing the best values achieved in the top performance shifts in honor of the world peace day and turning them into permanent achievements.

A focal point of our work lies in implementing the party projects taken on. Through decisive and regular party supervision we must ensure their completion, according to schedule and, possibly, ahead of schedule, the absolute fulfilment of the parameters planned, and the further improvement of efficiency. For that, the activities of the collectives at sea and on land have to be challenged and encouraged, and the proposals, recommendations and critique of the working people must be carefully collated and analyzed.

Action slogans must still more cogently point to qualitative growth factors and popular ones that have done quite well so far have to be rechecked, so as to further foster the creative atmosphere in the collectives while focusing on optimum performance.

Comprehensive Intensification--Common Concern

New demands were placed on the work of the party secretaries council when, beginning on 1 January 1984, the parent enterprise, Rostock VEB Fischfang, took over the management of the fishing combine. For one thing they were due to the size, the personnel prerequisites and the scientific-technological level of the parent enterprise which today, with its 8,800 personnel, commands more than 70 percent of the fishing, 52 percent of the rationalization means construction capacity, and 57 percent of the fishing combine's scientific-technological potential. But then it was also due to the high expectations

the other combine enterprises placed on having the plant enterprise manage the fishing combine. We adopted the task that politically and organizationally effective impulses are to flow from the parent enterprise to the basic organizations of the combine enterprises. Because of its remarkable potential, after all, the parent enterprise is looked to as a role model for the combine, in that its tried and tested working experiences and methods are made available to the basic organizations in the other combine enterprises and, as concrete conditions allow, come into use through the capacity of the parent enterprise.

In this process the party secretaries council has done well as a corporate body which, through close and, above all, purposive and correlated collaboration and approaches provides the basic organizations of the combine enterprises with premises for a higher grade of party work. That is seen, particularly, in the implementation of the resolutions from the ninth and 10th SED Central Committee session and the results of the Central Committee seminars with the general directors of the combines and Central Committee party organizers. Through the consistent, priority-oriented work of the party secretaries council, the party secretaries and the party executives through them become more expert in focusing their political-ideological and their organizational work on economic requirements and the specific performance and efficiency goals that relate to the fishing combine.

We managed to an increasing degree--and the top achievements for the world peace day prove it--to create awareness for enterprise, combine-related, economic and foreign economy and foreign policy contexts and to work out argumentations in the collective which would then become effective as a uniform foundation for the political work in the basic organizations and enterprises. Along with it, it has also been found useful to combine the long-term developmental problems and tendencies in the fishing combine, as revealed in the 1986-1990 refinement conception, closely with the matters of day-by-day plan implementation. Thus, among other things, political-ideological questions and a party-bound approach to solving such tasks were focused on as effective production implementation within the scope of the spring fishing season with all its preparatory and subsequent processes, the complete and efficient utilization of the catch and its being refined into high-grade fish products the population likes to buy, as well as the observing of allocated material contingents and limits.

A central spot in our deliberations goes to conveying experiences of partywork for more rapidly and efficiently transferring R&D data into production. We are concerned here with R&D data from the fishing combine's own collectives as well as with new yardsticks for research cooperation with science institutions and other combines. Firmly embedded in it are the scientific and technological data and experiences we are getting, in particular, from the cooperation at sea and on land with our Soviet and Polish partner combines and facilities. New chances for that have come from the ocean fishing government accord concluded with the Soviet Union in 1984. Our experiences also are telling us this: The further performance and efficiency development of the fishing combines gets strong impulses from collaborating with the Soviet Union and the other socialist fishing countries, while it also requires a fast development of our own capacity in the interest of fruitful cooperation at a mutual benefit.

Substantive priority coordination and correlation for the political-ideological work of the party secretaries council is a solid basis for strict and effective party control by the basic organizations in the combine enterprises to achieve the intensification priorities. This is a good method for still more concretely and effectively organizing all the management activities in the enterprises.

Joint conferences have turned out to be useful among the party secretaries council, the collective of the BGL [enterprise trade union headquarters] chairmen, and the enterprise directors on the plan starting, the analysis of the Central Committee conferences with the general directors and the Central Committee party organizers, the preparing of the plan discussion, and for analyzing Central Committee sessions and intensification conferences. That accomplishes still better coordination without formal fuss and more concrete correlation for resolving tasks without prejudice to the specifics in delegated political accountability. Thus, on the basis of a joint directive, the political and organizational preparation and implementation of the 1986 plan discussion were handled uniformly in the fishing combine. Here precisely one could see the place value of an analysis of efficiency and performance development in each enterprise and of the breakdown of tasks in terms of each enterprise for a party-minded definition of the campaign position adopted by the basic organizations in the combine enterprises, and for the fulfilment of enterprise and combine tasks. We also still see reserves here in the fishing combine.

Decisive for the effectiveness of the help and support supposed to come from these conferences for each party and trade union organization and for the enterprise at large is that all tasks are concretely analyzed, broken down in detail, and that appropriate inferences are drawn. To have prepared it well is up to the party organization of the parent enterprise. Decisive problems therefore are first dealt with by the central party organization management in the parent enterprise. The requisite voting is carried out in time by the Central Committee party organizer, the general director and the chairman of the collective of the BGL chairmen.

Altogether our experiences are telling us that the conferences of the party secretaries council help disclose more and more reserves. They are crucial for the basic organizations' unified orientation to those political-ideological and economic points of emphasis that have to be coped with in the fishing combine, jointly and in each enterprise, to make comprehensive intensification prevail over the long haul. Such a uniform foundation also improves the effectiveness of experience exchange and facilitates the effective practical transfer of optimum experiences.

The special responsibility the combine has for territorial concerns can also be better exercised in having the issues considered in the party secretaries council, then taken to our party's kreis and bezirk managements, capacities being combined and joint voting being arranged on substantive territorial problems. Here especially many reserves can be found. For instance, the course taken of rigorously enforcing, jointly with territorial organs, the replacing of heating oil turned out to be the only correct course.

In coping with primary tasking assignments, the qualitative factors in our performance and efficiency development were worked out better and better and became increasingly effective. It strengthened the authority of combine management and threw into relief the joint responsibility of all social forces for our performance and efficiency development and for definitely meeting all provisioning functions.

To reach the lofty goals and redeem our commitments to the 11th party congress, we shall--while making use of the party elections--further improve the efficacy of political leadership activity and further strengthen the party organizations' capacities. That makes possible our still more concretely and differentiately pushing the working people's elan and initiative, in seeing to it that our collective also makes its contribution in implementing the policy for the good of the people.

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ROLE, EFFECT OF ART IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY DESCRIBED

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[Article by Prof Dr Klaus Jarmatz, research department head at the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Cultural and Artistic Sciences of the SED Central Committee's Academy for Social Sciences: "Literature and Art of Socialist Realism--Co-creators of Our Life"]

[Text] At the Ninth Writers Congress, Hermann Kant, in agreement with the delegates, referred to the good reasons writers had in our country for "abiding by designs we have long been following, keeping the friends we have long had, holding on to principles set down long ago, remaining reliable comrades to our comrades, as much as reliable enemies to our enemies."¹ Writers, painters and sculptors, theater people, musicians and movie artists are facing the challenges of ongoing struggles and keep asking themselves how they can, as artists, exercise their responsibility today in socialism for socialism and the safeguarding of peace. Art congresses, political activities and, not last, many works of art give us the clue: The long established principles of an art that gets into the struggles of the age and shares in the shaping of socialist society are today still in effect.

On that is based the tribute paid the arts in our society. "We respect and appreciate the artists and creators of culture," Comrade Erich Honecker announced in his meeting with the creators of art and culture of the GDR in September 1984, "as active and reliable co-creators of the developed socialist society."²

Such tribute is informed with a principle in the party's culture and art policy that has stood up well for decades and with the relationship of trust, based on it, between artists and the party. "Our party has always assumed that the arts are indispensable to and irreplaceable in the intellectual life of our society," Comrade Kurt Hager said in his speech at the sixth Central Committee session in July 1972. "We can do neither without the discoveries of the sciences nor without the discoveries of the arts."³

We need and use the arts to become clear about the nature, content and targets of our actions, as means for intellectually coping with fundamental social problems as with the scientific-technological revolution and the forming of

the socialist way of life, and not last as means for shaping and determining the meaning of a personal life-style. The arts enrich life in various ways.

In shaping the developed socialist society art and society enter into relations new in kind. The social need for the arts is set down in the party's long-term art policy orientation, as crystallized in the party program. "Socialism needs an art," Comrade Kurt Hager stated as far back as in 1972, "that firmly relies on reality and goes forth to make discoveries in this reality and its future potentials. Realistic art is founded on life, aspires toward life, its constant transformation and change in terms of our great pioneering ideals. That is the key point of our conception of the creative in the arts that it profoundly affects men and society so that its intellectual creativeness fuses with that of the workers class and of the liberated people in a unified process."⁴

This kind of program envisages an art that time and time again copes with reality, always again seeking access to this reality and the ones operating in it. The matrix of conditions for realistic art, for the arts' opportunities to intervene, has changed. It is different today from what it was 30 years ago.

For art to be able to have any effect it yet must have reached its readers and listeners, its viewers and spectators, it must have touched something in them. Thus it must furnish not only a realistic copy (which has nothing to do with a poor imitation of reality, but much with artistic design), but it must also address the audience in a manner that will not remain inconsequential. Especially in this regard new conditions for the functioning of art have developed since the 1970's. That relates mainly to a stabilizing manner of dealing with the arts as it shows in the use the working class and the other working people are making of the arts. A strong diversification of artistic needs is at work in it. It pertains to new and deepened insights into the specifics of the arts, into their particular modes of taking effect. Only when all those factors are taken under advisement can one properly discuss the function of the arts today and the manner in which art functions today in our society.

The Diversification of the Artistic Functions

We attach a high place value to the ability art has in affecting human thought and co-creating the apperception of the world. Socialist writers and artists properly feel responsible for the view their audiences have of the world. They want to co-create the world-outlook. Many a reader or spectator has newly seen and evaluated his rapport with the world through a moving aesthetic experience, sometimes has surmised or even found a meaning for his life. Such an aesthetic effect, however, takes place in a complicated multilayered context and has many premises. That too we understand better today. In the first German edition of her novel "Die Rettung" [The Rescue], Anna Seghers, in her preface, turns against a conceit widespread in criticism, to the effect that the formative ideological effects of literature would mainly be achieved through the illustration of knowledge already available. She emphasized that art, in specific, diverse forms of social awareness, affected human thought. In a novel, its author and its reader were in a partnership for jointly getting to the truth.⁵

Among the peculiar and specific opportunities the arts have for co-creating the image of the world is their capacity of addressing people in a multi-layered way, addressing the "whole" man. By stressing the cognitive function of the arts alone (though such a function they do of course have) their ideology fashioning capacity is not exhausted. In order better to understand and comprehend the world through the arts, we need the arts in their diverse functioning modes: their capacity to discover new reality and convey value orientations, create awareness for our historic accomplishments, illuminate the field of tension between the ideal and reality, criticize what is alien to socialism, comfort a man who is unhappy, provide someone who wants to laugh and have a good time also with the means for that, help someone conjure up a breath of spring on a cold winter day, or satisfying someone who seeks mental exertion as much as someone else who is after relaxation and entertainment. "What this country and its people expect of us, indeed demand of us is literature. Invigorating, illuminating, pleasure-causing, startling, intrusive, insolent, robust, tender, pulsating, encouraging, awakening, helpful, solidary literature, very much of today, suitable for tomorrow, not to be forgotten and, if possible, unforgettable literature."⁶ Thus Hermann Kant concluded his speech at the Eighth Writers Congress; at the ninth, he explicitly referred to that remark. The party's art policy strategy aims at art that ignores "not one sound, not one color, not one sphere of life," and which opens up everything "socialist personalities need for their full development."⁷

Exploring and Disseminating the Values of Socialism

Based on such a perception of the functions of the arts in socialism, the specifics in the arts have recently more and more emphatically been connected with the value-exploring and value-orienting potentials of the arts. In the process of the continuing shaping of the developed socialist society, value concepts that determine thoughts and actions also change. The question as to which values, rooted in all the history of mankind thus far, we have to mobilize in the class conflicts of our time as well as the question about the new values that socialism has produced require societal self-evidence. Literature, films, theater--all the arts for that matter--are challenged to explore and make conscious the values of socialism and to answer the question about a meaningful life in our time, which places high performance requirements on the individual as on society at large. Thereby the arts intervene in the spiritual struggles of our time but also in the efforts of spiritually coping with the social processes in the formation of the socialist way of life.

An impulse for the debates in the arts and about the arts keeps arising from the circumstance that for our personal life we need accurate information on what the socialist revolution has thus far meant to the history of mankind. We also have to understand what it is that still has to be accomplished. Through the arts an individual cannot only appropriate the spiritual and moral values of his time, he also encounters in them the experiences of mankind and the value concepts it has coined in a complexity and directness as hardly anywhere else. That, after all, explains the power of art which, as the memory of humanity, keeps spiritually available to us that which helps us to live humanly today. Its answers, for all that, are not simply, plausibly and immediately available to anyone; it is not a matter of simply passing on

discoveries; one must be active himself, involved in public life and in his spiritual appropriation process.

Many arts convey the experiences of humanity and the class struggle. For fusing them with what is topical today is something else for which art has meanwhile found many chances, and it keeps finding new ones all the time. Guenther Ruecker's film, "Die Verlobte" [The Betrothed], his story "Herr von Oe," Hermann Kant's novel "Der Aufenthalt" [The Sojourn] and the movie made from it, autobiographically oriented works like Stephan Hermlin's "Abendlicht" [Evening Light] and Peter Edel's "Wenn es ans Leben geht" [When Life Is at Stake], the miracle worker's trilogy and "Der Laden" [The Store] by Erwin Strittmatter, Christa Wolf's "Kindheitsmuster" [Pattern of Childhood], or poems by Steffen Mensching are such works in the art of the GDR. The necessarily vastly limited selection here may still suggest the breadth of variants by which art does so. It also makes us reflect on how an individual is challenged into making experience accessible through art. A peculiar memory it is.

However, art not only keeps our senses tuned to what has been and what is, it also gives us a keener sense for what has to come. If art omitted the anticipation of the future and remained stuck with what is now, it would lose in effect. Occupying in the creation of art this sort of stand that overlooks the times, however, always turns out to be very hard to tackle. And it leads to contradictions. Such contradictions Hacks referred to when, rather pointedly, he said in 1976 that our art had gotten rid "of the obsolete, the inconsequential and the shards of the stance that was basically imperialist. We are more worth mentioning than that and have in the arts a pretty and probative status of mediocrity. Yet precisely the bearable in our art is unbearable. What we are lacking is the compelling need to anticipate."⁸

He explained this by saying that some artists erroneously thought they had reached the heights of art only because they had climbed the spiritual peaks of their time, but others got into worse straits in not finding a way out, spiritually, of the problem thickets and barriers of their time. If art, however, is to move its audience, it must look into the future, even envision a possible future and maintain a sovereign relationship with the present and with history, so as to be able to convey thereby again so necessary a sovereignty.

Dialogue Between the Artists and the Audience

Today also we need works of art "in the center of which are found the active, history-shaping hero, the working class and its representatives."⁹ Such works are needed, not last, for the social process of comprehending our accomplishments, that which has been achieved so far. The artistic portrayal of the working class is more than ever a fundamental element of advances in art. Someone who is active in history plays an important role here. The art of socialist realism has invariably focused on him. Socialist artists like Brecht and Anna Seghers were always clear in their own mind that that demanded not only the artistic portrayal of such a hero but, above all, a party-minded posture and works of art which in reality themselves induce active social conduct. From that socialist realism has time and again derived new impulses. In the real art development of socialist realism, however, a new historic web of conditions for it has kept forming, so that party-mindedness and solidarity

with the people not merely had to stand up, but had to be opened up time and time again in the process of artistic creation. An important prerequisite for that has always been, and is, the access to social reality and to the audience. More today than a few years ago has the comprehension of the dialogic character of the arts been awakened. Art has become today an important means for a public identification of social processes, moral value concepts, accomplishments of socialism, and possibilities and needs for socially active conduct.

What an art which in this sense is a "process among people" requires of the artists is something the artists themselves have carried on an intensive discussion about. At the Eighth Writers Congress, Wolfgang Kohlhaase referred to a realism that would not be satisfied merely with its "copying function," let alone with the "positive or negative conceit." Especially when an author had read the Marxist-Leninist classics and wants to move on the intellectual heights of his time, he should have to keep in mind the questions his neighbor raises--and those are new and old questions. Socialist consciousness formed and proved itself "less in the quiet than in public, and it has to prove itself, also in our own affairs, as a conflict awareness. Discussion and discipline are impulses of our movement that must time and again be related to each other anew."¹⁰ Kohlhaase wants to promote through his art problem-rich political thought and active social conduct, all needed so we can realize our ideals. To get there, the author places himself in a relationship of dialogue with his audience.

To be sure, the dialogue between audience and artists is nothing new. Only that this dialogue has a new foundation today. A writer, e.g., who was actively involved in the antifascist struggle had a vast cognitive headstart over most of his German readers after 1945. He knew what was necessary for a life without fascism and war. If he wanted to produce sovereignty, he had to popularize what he knew, he had to "enlighten" without however getting out of his art. Today the audience and artists often relate differently to each other. They exchange ideas while proceeding from common points of departure. Of course a work of art which fails to be ahead of the audience in what it knows, as far as the exploration of reality is concerned, has fewer chances because it then necessarily lags behind the social experiences of the audience. Common social experiences in the shaping of socialism constitute fruitful dialogue in which the artist finds his audience important because it can address him uncoded--as Strittmatter remarked with a view to his readers.¹¹ On such a basis of dialogue, not only an altered "functional strategy" for the creation of art comes to prevail, on it also depends more and more the real "functioning" of art in our country. The new articulation in the relations of dialogue between artists and the audience crystallizes however also in the new artistic structures. Many artists today seek artistic forms with which they could meet such social demands. That does not proceed in a linear fashion either of course, but as a dialectical and contradictory process.

What meets the eye today is that narrators and playwrights as well--and especially those that represent those who perform actively in history--work in very diverse ways. Often they are highly target-directed in that they provoke a dialogue and expect the reader or spectator to enter the story directly. Two important characters of workers in the more recent GDR literature, Tobias Hawk in Brezan's novel "Bild des Vaters" [Father's Picture] and Paul Weidenauer in

Eckert's novel "Familienfoto" are "copies" of those who are acting positively within history, the portrayals of workers who in their lives realize values like social energy, decent and reliable work and responsibility to others. At the same time, however, they force the reader into dialogue and demand of him that he check his own life-style and a spiritual engagement over the values of socialism. The heroes often get into complicated situations in life. In some books, and plays as well, the resolution a hero might find is less important, and the authors prefer an open ending because they want to encourage further reflection and exchange of ideas. At times there are even figures of heroes placed under focus that are not absolutely presenting role models, but rather count on criticism from the reader whom they want to lead toward understanding the values in our lives. The literature of the GDR, contemporary Soviet literature and that of other socialist countries, having found a wide reception in our country, offer very many and many multilayered figures of heroes. And the reader does not necessarily enjoy each type of hero. All told, however, the multifaceted ensemble of literary heroes in contemporary literature certainly corresponds to the readers' expectations. They find heroes stimulating who are oriented to social activity, have to struggle with problems, and advance the awareness for problems.

This is one reason that explains the great public interest in the staging of Gelman's play, "Wir, die Endesunterzeichnenden" [We, the Final Signatories] at the Maxim Gorki Theater. Here too the director has deliberately highlighted the "open ending" to draw the spectators into a dialogue and make them take issue with themselves on what the active conduct requirements are today on behalf of socialism. In our country's prose literature not only Brezan and Eckert with their novels have found an audience that is ready for dialogue, many other works have achieved the same thing. Strittmatter's novel "Der Laden" attracts a large circle of readers. The story of Esau Matt, the hero of the book, gives much pleasure in poetry. And again, Esau Matt is not taken as a model as such but as an inducement to reflect on values that make life meaningful today. Different accents again are placed by the Farssman figure in Hermann Kant's "Drittem Nagel" [Third Nail] or Goerlich's story "Die Chance des Mannes."

Most revealing it is when especially young poets, who like Gundermann, Mensching, Schwarz and Wenzel come from political chansons and carry on an important tradition of combative socialist lyrics, most deliberately and directly employ means of dialogue. In Mensching's first volume of poems, "Erinnerung an eine Milchglasscheibe" [Recalling a Pane of Frosted Glass], a lyrical subject is acting that seems patently obsessed with pushing the reader into valuations of his own and into social activity. Actions and attitudes are to be presented with which a reader can relate. "Perhaps," says the poet about his strategy, "there is a change here from previous works in which I presented the reader/listener with some understanding of mine which he only had to accept or reject, while he now, as I hope, gets directly drawn into the process of poetic comprehension, with the text opening to him only if he himself enters into it."¹² This kind of an artistic approach has of late made us aware, in a surprising way, of the magnitude and beauty of all we have accomplished and brought closer to us the "active, history-shaping hero," ourselves, in other words, and placed us within the suspenseful and creative relationship between the ideal and reality. This perspective has an

essential share in that art and culture, as Comrade Erich Honecker put it in the report to the 10th party congress, exercise "an ever increasing influence on socialist personality development and the shaping of the socialist way of life." By exploring the "whole variety and conflict-rich development" of our revolutionary transformation and of socialist values, socialist contemporary art took part in the "public articulation of the intellectual claims and moral value concepts of our society."¹³

This developmental trend, in which the arts exercise their changing and intervening function above all today, more and more informs the process of artistic development and also the receptivity of readers, listeners, viewers and spectators. A work of art completes itself only through its reception; only then is the decision reached whether the intended artistic effects are in fact obtained. The potentials of art become effective only when listeners and readers are ready to seek access to art and mobilize their spiritual capacities for appropriating the particular value of a work of art. That presupposes artistic design that leads to aesthetic experience and also a developed sense for art through which one can "openly enter the work of art."

The more developed the artistic sense is, the more can the arts affect life. Sensitively dealing with the arts all throughout the socialist public also stimulates the production of art and produces the climate that is necessary for the development of art in socialism and fosters it.

FOOTNOTES

1. Hermann Kant speech, "IX. Schriftstellerkongress der DDR," Aufbau Verlag, Berlin/Weimar, 1984, p 16.
2. Erich Honecker, "Rich Culture--Created by the People for the People," "Reiche Kultur--vom Volke fuer das Volk geschaffen," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1984, p 15.
3. Kurt Hager, "On Questions of SED Cultural Policy," "Beitraege zur Kulturpolitik," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, p 32.
4. Ibid., p 37.
5. Cf. Anna Seghers, "Die Rettung," Aufbau Verlag, Berlin 1947, p 6.
6. Hermann Kant, "The Author's Responsibility in the Struggles of Our Time," "VIII. Schriftstellerkongress der DDR," Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin/Weimar, 1979, pp 49-50; Hermann Kant speech, "IX. Schriftstellerkongress der DDR," p 16.
7. Kurt Hager, op. cit., p 35.
8. Peter Hacks, "Die Massgaben der Kunst" [The Criteria for Art], Henschel-verlag Kunst und Gesellschaft, Berlin, 1978, p 250.
9. Erich Honecker, op. cit., p 15.

10. VIII. Schriftstellerkongress der DDR," p 126.
11. Cf. VII. Schriftstellerkongress der DDR, Protokoll [Proceedings] (Working Groups), Aufbau-Verlag, Berlin/Weimar, 1974, p 227.
12. Steffen Mensching, "Threshold Value Computation," NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR, No 5, 1984, p 45.
13. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den X. Parteitag der SED," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1981, pp 105, 108-109.

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PARTY JOURNAL EXAMINES 1985 ELECTION EXPERIENCES

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[Article by Enro Lakatos, director of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee: "A Few Lessons From the Political Work Associated With the Elections"]

[Text] In June our country's populace re-elected the National Assembly and the council members. In many respects, this important public event occurred under circumstances which were different from previous elections. The populace voted amidst a more difficult and complicated domestic political situation which lent greater weight to the unity expressed through citizen activity. Furthermore, the importance of the elections was increased in that the application of the election laws which were modified in 1983 represented another step we have taken toward expanding socialist democracy, i.e., the mandatory designation of multiple candidates provided a means for the citizens to more explicitly and emphatically express their opinions regarding our policies and the representation and representatives of this policy.

Thus, we may legitimately say that the successful elections were also a referendum--in the strict sense of the word; it also meant that the populace--exercising its broadest democratic possibilities--accepted the policies of the MSZMP and the program outlined by the Patriotic National Front in its electoral call. But this is precisely the point: the greater political significance of the elections held under the new conditions requires us to consider more carefully the experiences of the political work associated with the elections and to derive the most important lessons from them. This is not only necessary because these are the first elections held under the modified laws and the experiences gained must now be applied to the next occasion, but also because many issues of public interest, observations and suggestions emerged through the exchange of ideas resulting from the participation of millions of people, and these must not be forgotten. It is practical for not only the elected representative organizations but also the party organizations to devote their energies to implementing the well-grounded proposals. However, it is no less important that by learning from both the successes and errors, we will create even better conditions for the further development of socialist democracy, the expression of the will of the people and the strengthening of political unity and activity which, in the final analysis, serve the common goals.

An important aspect of the political work associated with the elections was

the political preparation, especially the concrete formulation of the national and local electoral platforms as well as their familiarization with and evaluation by the public. The nominating meetings, the candidates' meetings with their voters, the meetings with various social strata and particularly, the nationally publicized election rallies provided us with a good opportunity to highlight our most important political goals for the constituents. Also contributing to this were mass communication, television, radio and the press which--in accordance with their function--not only communicated the facts but also actively participated in and initiated the lively political thinking and exchange of ideas which involved the entire country and emerged with renewed force as a result of the elections. In most instances, the attempt was made to deal responsibly and substantively with the developmental plans of the cities, villages and districts as well as the living conditions and provisioning problems of the local population in a form similar to constituent meetings with representatives and council members. As a matter of fact, we could say that the nominating and residents' meetings were primarily directed at local matters which, in part, was only natural, since these meetings were above all the forums of the resident communities. The greatest difficulty--due to a deficiency in our political work--was caused by the fact that the speakers at the nominating meetings, the attending party members, and the activists of the national front were not always able to convincingly show the relationships between the growth of the community and the country's opportunities or between everyday joys and problems concerning the smaller communities and national policy. The active political atmosphere necessary for the elections was successfully created throughout the country; however, the level of political discussion was a very different matter. Very often the discussion of national political issues was fraught with generalities, and dealing with local issues was lost in the debate of current political matters. Here the shortcomings of our political work with the masses also became evident, and we will have to devote more attention to this.

Throughout the country, there was lively debate concerning the modified electoral system, not only at the time the modification of the law was introduced, but especially during the time of electoral preparations. During these debates we successfully clarified that the goal of the modification was the greater democratization of the elections, i.e., to provide the means for the accurate expression of the citizens' opinions and that the individuals most deserving of the trust of the citizens would be elected to the state and national representative bodies.

The majority of the citizens recognized the advantages of dual, or rather, multiple candidates. Instead, the debate focused more on the selection of the candidates and the considerations stemming from the proposals of the Patriotic National Front. This provided an early indication that the citizens wanted to responsibly exercise their options and would vigorously demand the democratic conduct of every major facet of the elections, clear and convincing justifications for the choices of nominees and that their views be given consideration and respect. However, another lesson drawn is that in the future, we must help assure a greater proportion of women, youth and manual workers among the nominees by even more carefully selecting and thoroughly examining the personal talents and preparedness of the nominees and by giving them greater public exposure.

After an initially mixed reception, the public responded favorably to the

introduction of a national list of candidates which embodies national unity and the collaboration of various social forces. However, the composition of the list provoked debate; many would have gladly seen others among the national candidates. During the course of our educational work, we should have probably said more about the national list. That is to say, the younger generation-- and by now it represents the majority of the voters--is not familiar with the allies who participated with us in earlier political struggles who were included in the national list. In our political work we must also continue to deal with the character and function of this important new institution in our electoral system.

The phase of the political work associated with the elections which was the most instructive and provided the most valuable experiences was the setting up of the nominations. Those responsible for the organization, the political organizations participating in the elections and the party members considered it important to assure uniform conditions for the nominees--regardless of their job functions. The nominees all accepted the platform of the Patriotic National Front and were all entitled to make contact with the voters, to present their thoughts and to gain the acceptance of the citizens. However, this did not also mean that each of the nominees had the same chance of being elected; some were better known than others, some were better suited than others for representational work and numerous other characteristics differentiated the nominees. It would have been a mistake to suppress these differences in the interests of creating equal chances for all the nominees by forcing their performances into some sort of stereotype and neutralizing them, since the aim of the elections was precisely to allow the populace to elect the representatives and council members on the basis of their personal characteristics and their most suitable attributes.

Naturally, it was not easy to find the exact limits between creating uniform conditions and allowing the expression of personal differences. It happened that in certain instances the nominees were urged to behave with restraint and in an impersonal way in the name of "refraining from campaigning"; in other instances competition and the initiation of individual action was promoted. However, there were also instances where the candidates themselves hid behind the safety of impersonality, laying their trust in the prestige accorded by the official nomination and not willing to face the greater risks entailed by expressing their personal opinions. Or, on the contrary, in a few instances, the nominees, acting on their own initiative, made personal appearances without the appropriate responsibility which in turn diverted attention away from the more substantial issues and from realistic opportunities and ideas.

Nevertheless the occasionally very apparent conflicts that arose were not caused by these phenomena, but by the fact that in numerous places the preparations for nominations did not provide sufficient opportunities for a more thorough and credible introduction of the nominee's total character, activities and suitability. This is also a very important theoretical issue because although the undertaking of a few personal appearances means more, and in general, is a more valuable mode of conduct than impersonal behavior clothed in an official mantle, it nevertheless does not provide sufficient bases or guarantees for an optimal election. Guarantees could be given only by evaluating the entire

careers of the nominees. The further development of socialist democracy, including the electoral system, is in harmony with this principle: on the one hand we would justifiably like to avoid the superficial and manipulative characteristics of the electoral system of the bourgeois democracies and on the other, we also find it desirable--in part, precisely as a result of the elections--that our public bodies should have even more workers where the common work pursued apart from the debate will continue to produce results and not showy performances.

One of the most important lessons gained from the nominations was that the political work was most successful and the greatest agreement was created where they perceived the new situation resulting from the multiple nominations and prepared to create the most complete conditions for democratic decision-making and true elections. An important feature of this was the creation of widespread publicity. We could cite many instances where personal appearances by the nominees were only considered as one possibility; many other forms and means were also utilized (the local press, election newsletters, brochures, cable television, conversations with the voters, etc.) so that the candidates could comprehensively acquaint the voters with that which best secures their individual credibility: their work to date. At the same time the party organizations, in part, did not suitably consider the great extent to which--beyond publicity--the opinions of the political organizations influence the voters' objectivity. The supportive position of the party organs and organizations probably had the greatest influence in the cases of those nominees who had gained credit in the earlier struggles and the work of the previous decades. That is to say, many of them--quite understandably--would have considered it a strange and immodest display if they themselves recounted to the voters the merits of their previous work. Because the new situation was unexamined or not thoroughly considered and because of preparatory shortcomings, numerous party organizations did not present a position. In this respect the political work could not contribute appropriately to create truly uniform conditions for objective decisions by the voters.

The increased preparatory requirements as well as the peculiarity of the new situation combined with older more imbued conditions caused difficulties in the electoral political work. In some cases, there was a reluctance to publicly present and discuss those in higher official capacities and the activities and personal views of respected public figures who worked in national or county organizations. However, the reluctance and uncertainty were unjustified even in these instances. The participants of the nominating meetings truly set a higher standard than previously when judging the suitability of nominees. However, the candidates for nominations, the public figures, the officials of party and mass organizations and county leaders who have succeeded in winning recognition in their more limited circumstances through their work, conduct and lifestyle were, with a few exceptions, nominated. Characteristically, of the 1,511 village, city and capital district council members, only 51 village and two council presidents were not re-elected as council members. At the same time, we must derive the lesson from a few instances that it is not sufficient for public officeholders to only support our political aims with the best of intentions; it is also important that they shape their methods and also styles according to our democratic conditions.

In a small percentage of the electoral districts, there was an attempt to

nominate individuals who represent views on essential issues that are contrary to our ideology and politics. In a few instances, this engendered hostility toward so-called spontaneous nominations. However, in no way would it be appropriate if we were to evaluate the right of the citizens to propose in situ nominations at the nominating meetings from this perspective, since in the end every one of the "finally" accepted nominees were adherents to our social system and many were also party members. The so-called oppositional manifestations were not supported by society, and were countered everywhere by political means; thus there was no opportunity for their nominations to even come up. However, it also turned out that some of our activists were not prepared to conduct political discussions with them and reveal their true intentions. Thus, we did not achieve the desired result of convincing a few of the misguided youth who sympathized with them. To some it was not immediately apparent why it was necessary to oppose the representatives of a small group who seemingly were only critical in their stands but in fact are sharply opposed to our system. The individuals closely associated with the bourgeois propaganda organizations that are blindly against our country may not play any part in our public affairs.

There is also another lesson to be learned from all this. The expanding democratization of the elections necessitates our more continuous and thorough tracking of the populace's opinions and proposals regarding National Assembly and council representative personnel. We have already gained considerable experience in discussing plans for expanding the settlement of residential areas as well as cities and villages with the populace. It is expected that its favorable effect will be manifested in the more active work of the re-elected popular representative bodies, i.e., the representatives and council members, and in the strengthening of their relationships to their constituents. The administrative agencies could justifiably expect that the new representatives and council members will meritoriously and critically evaluate their activity, show more initiative and deal with matters more publicly as well as that the intent of representing local interests more forcefully will be manifest in their work. However, the contact and dialogue with the populace may only become more updated and satisfactory if the economic, welfare and social policy issues are better supplemented with personal relationships. As we are able to presently evaluate, consider and even shape the opinion of the populace to local objective circumstances and financial matters by ranking and explaining the various interests, we must in the same way learn the more systematic study and handling of popular opinions, ideas and initiatives as they affect individuals. Obviously this goes beyond the regular organization of representative and council meetings with the constituents, and is not all that simple; in many instances, it is a rather delicate task. Nevertheless, it is more practical and easier to confront this rather than simply relying on the fact that during the few months of preparation the voters will express their views and put forth more or less well-founded individual proposals.

The situation is also more favorable for this now than it was before because during the course of the elections it was confirmed that the notion of individual ideas receiving publicity and the involvement of individual characteristics, strengths and capacities are not foreign to socialist public affairs. The electoral competition did not conflict with our principles, unscrupulous means were not employed anywhere and not a single candidate was popularized to the

detriment of another. In most instances the voters supported in word and votes the candidates who by their careers, work and conduct gave rise to well-founded aspirations that they would be best able to represent the interests of their constituents and would take an active role in shaping the destiny of the country, county, city or village.

Nor do we have to be concerned that the more vigorous activity of the citizenry will result in the more frequent collision of opinions and more heated debates--as this was borne out during the elections. This is a direct consequence of the fact that the citizens received a greater opportunity to vote and influence the shaping of the local and national policy--including being able to choose among alternate individuals. At the same time we must take into consideration that it is necessary to have a greater willingness to engage in debate, and to have more convincing arguments for concluding debates as well as for forming a common consensus.

Almost all the experiences of the political work associated with the elections was related to the new expanded possibilities and higher requirements of the modified electoral system. Naturally we have not yet been able to make the most of the opportunities and to totally satisfy the requirements. It will take time for the new methods to gain ground and it is also necessary to hone certain details of the electoral system. Even so, the nearly two-month-long electoral campaign was conducted successfully in a good political atmosphere. The events legitimated the efforts of the MSZMP in that it is necessary and possible to take new steps in developing socialist democracy and that it is possible and necessary to enrich our political activities by the addition of new elements while safeguarding our principles.

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POLAND

DAILY INTERVIEWS WOZNIAK ON SEJM ELECTIONS

AU081457 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 85 p 5

[Interview given by Marian Wozniak, PZPR Politburo member and Warsaw PZPR Voivodship Committee first secretary, to Irena Szaczkusowa and Lech Winiarski --date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Rena Szaczkusowa and Lech Winiarski] Comrade, you are a Sejm deputy candidate. What kind of thoughts do you find being promoted by your many meetings with voters?

[Wozniak] The prevailing characteristic of these meetings is hope. The hope of jointly overcoming the difficulties which vex us, the hope of a better life, of a better tomorrow. Linked to this hope is a desire for cooperation. The citizens of Warsaw would come to these meetings full of commitment toward the city, toward the whole country. The period of distrust of the party and the authorities is gradually coming to an end. Social apathy, which manifested itself not so long ago, is being displaced in favor of civic involvement. This shows itself in very objective discussions with Sejm deputy candidates and in social work, which I talked about earlier.

A second phenomenon is the emergence of new, hitherto unknown, social activists. This was facilitated by the new Sejm electoral law, which enables all kinds of organizations, vocational, cultural, and sports organizations, to put forward candidates. This was accompanied by a certain community patriotism, a local patriotism, and lively, spontaneous support for one's representatives.

I see this as being a particularly healthy and valuable development which ought to be preserved in our electoral practice. Ultimately, the selection of candidates for the electoral list was not conducted in a mechanical way, and not according to an order of precedence established beforehand, but was the outcome of partner-like discussions. The personalities of the candidates, their ideas, their skill in presenting themselves to voters were of great importance. Of course, as a result of the rules a certain number of candidates dropped out after the first round of meetings. They will, however, continue to be valued social activists, for whom the patriotic movement for national rebirth should provide a broad domain for fruitful activity.

The election campaign has activated the Warsaw party organization. We have received many suggestions. These suggestions will help us to introduce

improvements to many areas of life, including administrations, which can and ought to function better than it does at present. Moreover, we have tried for a long time now to take account of residents' needs and difficulties, and the opinions of workforces in particular. I think that we have managed to raise standards in such areas as transportation, trade, housing construction; credit for this is also due to factory party organizations.

I personally attach great importance to work in the upbringing field, to raising society's moral sensitivity. Too much tolerance and leniency continues to be shown toward crookedness, dishonesty, holding out one's hand for public property. Unfortunately such attitudes are even encountered among sections of enterprise workforces.

Party organizations are performing their duties in the economic, and ideological and upbringing spheres to an ever greater degree. We think highly of the work of our secretaries on plant committees and in primary party organizations. There are many young and energetic people among them, people who are aware of the needs and moods of their communities. This ensures that the lowest party bodies will be more influential.

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POLAND

INTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER KISZCZAK SPEAKS AS SEJM CANDIDATE

AU071646 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 4 Oct 85 p 2

[Interview given by General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszcak, minister of internal affairs and candidate for the Sejm elections, to Tomasz Arleth: "We Present Candidates for Sejm Elections--We Are All Responsible for a Calm and Safe Country"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Arleth] The Council of Ministers Committee for the Observance of Law, Public Order and Social Discipline, which began functioning some 18 months ago, is so tied to your person that people call it the Kiszcak Committee. Do you think it continues to fulfill the purpose for which it was set up?

[Kiszcak] The committee's purpose is defined by its name, which is perhaps a little too long, and that is why people have a shorter name for it. The committee is a working forum for coordinating the activities of many departments and institutions responsible for law and order. They exchange information and evaluations, and this helps us to make socially crucial decisions in the best possible way on the effective struggle against social ills, against crimes that harm individual and public property and safety, against profiteering, waste, and bad production. We can already assert that mainly through its inspiration and coordination the committee is greatly instrumental in improving the performance of the departments and institutions responsible for law and order.

[Arleth] The modifications to the penal law as of 1 July 1985, which have increased punishment for crimes, have been the committee's best known initiative. Were the previous provisions in this regard too liberal?

[Kiszcak] Liberalism is a relative notion. What is far more important to remember is that our penal law has proved to be too ineffective in the face of a considerable rise in crime in the past few years. The punishment of criminals, some of whom were very dangerous, was getting increasingly out of tune with the public sense of justice and did not provide opportunities to improve the situation.

[Arleth] Will tougher punishment and rigors of the law help reduce crime?

[Kiszczak] Your question reflects the discussion in the country and especially in the press at the time when draft modification to penal law were published. It is no secret that the draft was criticized, at times rather sharply, by various people for very various motives, including political ones. Unfortunately, none of the critics presented any other reasonable alternative for solving the problem of a serious increase in crime in the past few years. These critics have often employed arguments in favor of humanitarianism. Everyone is for the humanitarian nature of penal law, but is this humanitarianism to apply only to criminals?

Is not the common man who is exposed to violence and force on the part of impudent bandits entitled to the protection of his human rights, especially the right to a peaceful life? It is a pity that the theoreticians and defenders of individual human rights, which are supposed to be subjected to violation, are seldom ready to listen to what working people who have been sorely afflicted by banditry have to say on this subject.

The increase in crime in the past few years is responsible for the fact that our people's sense of security has clearly been reduced. A sense of security is made not only from the absence of the threat of crime, but also from the conviction that effective law-keeping forces are able to protect one's life and property. Citizens want to be convinced that every crime against them and their property will be exemplarily and severely punished and that criminals will not get away with their crimes. This is the right of every citizen, and it is the duty of those in authority to satisfy the law through every means at their disposal.

[Arleth] Is it possible to eliminate crime by repressive measures only?

[Kiszczak] It is certain that no one believes that tightened repressive measures are enough to liberate us from the plague of crime. Aggravated legal punishment is only one of the elements of an entire complex of anti-crime measures. Without cooperation from social institutions and organizations and without our citizens' militancy we will be able to achieve no more than just the halting of increases in the crime rate and the ensuring of periodical improvements.

[Arleth] Some people think that imprisonment is not always favorable to re-socialization, especially in the case of young people who do not commit pre-meditated crimes and who have to rub shoulders with real criminals when in prison. How does your committee tackle this issue?

[Kiszczak] I agree with the fundamentals of this view, but let me stress that placing convictions in prisons is not a matter of chance. Young offenders and so-called unpremeditated and accidental offenders are placed in special prisons in which the rules are less vigorous. The committee wants to increase the number of such prisons and greatly ease the conditions of imprisonment. It takes the view that young offenders in particular should not be completely isolated from their families, schools, or factories and that they should be able to work and acquire education under semi-prison conditions. We think that in this way they may find it easier to establish their place in society and to reduce the likelihood of their returning to the road of crime.

POLAND

PZPR 3 OCT POLITBURO SESSION REPORTED

AU071634 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] PAP--The Politburo examined and approved a report on the official friendly visit to the Republic of Cuba by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of the PPR Council of State.

The visit was an expression of the particularly close ties which have linked Poland and Cuba for many years: It gave new impetus to the strengthening of friendship and the further comprehensive development of cooperation between the PZPR and the Communist Party of Cuba, between two states and two peoples. The Politburo attached particular value to the signing, during the visit, of a program of cooperation, specialization, and socialist economic integration between Poland and Cuba, which will run until the year 2000. This program creates a framework for the broad development of concrete and mutually advantageous cooperation in many areas of science, tourism, and economic activity.

The Politburo also examined and approved a report on attendance at the 40th jubilee session of the UN General Assembly in New York of the PPR delegation led by W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The Politburo stressed that the premier's participation in the UN jubilee session made it possible for Poland's position on fundamental world problems to be presented in a detailed manner from the highest international rostrum. It also made possible the presentation of a true picture of the situation in Poland, the government's intentions, and the actions the government has undertaken in order to defend the vital interests of the state and the nation.

The Politburo also attached great value to the fact that the content of the premier's speech had elicited such a wide social response and such widespread support in the country. This will contribute to the further consolidation of our nation around the fundamental state interests of our socialist fatherland and its peaceful foreign policy.

An important aspect of attending the New York jubilee session were the many many meetings and discussions with the highest representatives of other states from almost every region in the world and with the UN secretary general. These meetings will contribute to the further development and broadening of Poland's relations with many countries and Poland's cooperation with them in strengthening international peace and security.

The Politburo also pointed out the significance of many interesting meetings with members of American opinion-making circles. During these meetings W. Jaruzelski provided detailed [words indistinct] nations of Poland's position on a number of key problems in the world today, on the development of the situation in Poland, and on the current question of Polish-American relations. This should result in more objective explanations of Poland's position on these matters.

The Politburo regarded highly the cordiality which was displayed at a meeting with representatives on the American Polonia, drawn from a cross-section of society, and the atmosphere of attachment to the fatherland and respect for its representatives which [were] obtained at the meeting.

The Politburo considered the course and results of Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit to Cuba and his attendance at the UN General Assembly jubilee session to be an important element in strengthening Poland's international position.

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POLAND

CATHOLIC SEJM CANDIDATES ON CHURCH'S ROLE, POLITICAL DIALOGUE

Ryszard Bender Seeks Larger Role for Church

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 17 Sep 85 p 3

[Interview by Zbigniew Kopec; date and place not specified]

[Text] Professor by Ryszard Bender, Catholic scholar and activist, graduate of Lublin Catholic University, currently a lecturer there, historian of the 19th and 20th centuries, student of and expert on the period of the January uprising and other national efforts as well as Christian social movements of that period. In his historical theses presented in the columns of CHRZESCIJANIN W SWIECIE (of whose administrative staff he is a member), WIEZA and PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI, his interests include the years of World War II. He is co-founder and president of the Catholic Intellectuals' Club in Lublin and vice-chairman of the Academic Board of the Center for Social Records and Research in Warsaw. He was known as an active Sejm delegate during the seventh term. He has no party affiliation.

[Question] Professor, if you are elected as a delegate, which group of Polish society will you feel you represent?

[Answer] I am closely associated with those Catholic circles in Poland who draw their social ideas from the papal encyclicals, beginning with "Rerum Novarum" by Leo XIII in 1891 to John Paul II's encyclical "Laborem Exercens" in 1981. These groups are centered around the Center for Social Records and Research in Warsaw and the Catholic Intellectuals' Club in Lublin, among others.

Also close to us are the ideas of Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, which we try to adopt and disseminate. I would like to represent the views and at the same time strive to activate the community of believers who are not involved in the presently existing political structure but who after all have, on the basis of elementary principles of egalitarianism, a full right to feel co-caretakers of the country. These groups have not been formalized and I am aware that I can actually express myself only in my own name while attempting to sense their goals and needs.

[Question] What concepts of Catholic social thought do you see as particularly important now?

[Answer] The order of the moment for all Catholics in Poland should be the notion expressed in many papal documents referring to the need for participation by the faithful in public life. Absence, even under circumstances deemed unfavorable, is not right. All progress, no matter how small, is valuable. Meanwhile the people have become passive. They wait passively for order "from the top," but when they come, they are often carried out reluctantly and with varied, often not the best results. In our country issues are also decided at the central level that could be handled with more success by associations, professional groups or local governments with greater activity on their part. It is necessary to have more grass roots initiatives, carried out according to Catholic principles of good work adequately compensated and social justice and civic equality regardless of one's adopted philosophy.

[Question] Are your historical studies helpful in political activity?

[Answer] Although the notion that says history is a teacher is not completely true, because social processes are never repeated identically, it is still sometimes worthwhile to reach into the past. Christian social movements have great and beautiful traditions in Poland. They had a share in the spread of education, in the dissemination of culture and in the development of economic initiatives. They often cooperated in this with progressive and radical political groups.

[Question] How are the ideas of Catholic social thought realized by the Catholic Intellectuals' Club of Lublin, of which you are president?

[Answer] The Catholic Intellectuals' Club of Lublin, established in 1976 thanks to the initiative of Professor Czeslaw Strzeszewski, a senior figure of social Catholicism in Poland, now has about 700 members. Among them are scholars from all Lublin schools, representatives of humanistic as well as technical disciplines and young people. They are people who are distinguished and united by deeper reflection on the principles of the Catholic faith and their attempt to apply the conclusions following from it in their professional and social lives. We have representatives on the provincial and municipal national councils in Lublin, we cooperate with the Center for Social Records and Research publishing and academic movement and we carry on charitable activity, bringing assistance to those under the care of the State Home for Social Relief on Glowacki Street in Lublin and organizing collections for the needy. We want to broaden our influence by intensifying our educational and publicity activity. My candidacy for the Sejm, sponsored by the Catholic Intellectuals' Club, is an expression of our striving to increase the participation of Catholics in the country's public life, which I am convinced will be advantageous to both society and the state.

Komender Emphasizes Reasonable Dialogue

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 4 Sep 85 p 3

[Interview by Tomasz Arleth; date and place not specified]

[Text] Zenon Komender, Catholic, state and social activist, is chairman of the board of the PAX Association. He says of himself, "In the circle of progressive PAX members I found conditions for social and political activity appropriate to my interests in Polish political thought. I quickly understood and accepted as 'my own' PAX's program of threefold commitment--patriotic, Christian and socialist.

We are an ideological, political and social organization of lay Catholics, he continued in an interview with a PAP journalist. We work automatically and on our own responsibility in accordance with the directive of Vatican Council II on the duties of lay people in the church and the world.

In our public activities we are guided by the inspiration of Christian philosophy. At the same, as an ideological-political organization and not a religious-denominational movement, we avoid a direct link between religion and politics in our work. This arises from the fact that we have always been opposed to all forms of exploitation of the church's moral and religious authority in political activity. We want lay Catholics to be active citizens and help--in their proper capacity--the spiritual and educational work of the church in Poland.

[Question] The PAX movement strongly stresses the need for permanent, comprehensive cooperation between the church and secular state. . . ?

[Answer] In fulfilling its supernatural, spiritual mission, the church does not operate apart from reality, but in a concrete time, within a concrete nation, state and system. It speaks to the same people who carry out their patriotic and civic duties under another title. In our opinion, the church's religious and moral authority in Poland--despite periodic difficulties and tensions in relations with the state--has served and still serve the maintenance and fortification of internal peace and the increase of many values important not only from the viewpoint of Catholics but of our entire nation and Poland's existence. There should be common concern over Poland's rapid exit from crisis and overcoming threats to its further development, over propagating civic virtues and worth ethics and over opposing various manifestations of social and moral ills.

[Question] You have a reputation as a social activist. You often speak publicly about the problems of upbringing in sobriety but also about the problems of family, the incompetent and handicapped. I have the impression that your work on the Citizens Building Council's Mother's and Woman's Health Center in Lodz is especially dear to you.

[Answer] That is true. The center is a monument to Polish women, an expression of homage to their heroism and love, their struggle and everyday toil, a token of our esteem and respect for them. From all indications and thanks to the good work of the builders and the great generosity of the public, supported by overseas groups, it appears we will complete the job within four years. The halfway mark of the center's construction will almost coincide with the date of the Sejm elections.

[Question] You have often stressed the special role of the family. . . ?

[Answer] It has always been the mainstay of the human individual. "A place on earth" from childhood to old age. It is here, in this fundamental community, that our personality, our sense of justice, system of values, concept of good and bad, confidence in others and respect for authority are formed in such a meaningful way. The family educates us for society.

[Question] You belong to the "Columban" generation. You were born in 1923. The war interrupted your education at a Catholic high school. . . ?

[Answer] Our generation did not lost heart; we joined the battle. At the beginning I was in a scout organization, then the National Military Organization and Home Army. War and schooling. That was how we saw patriotism. I received my diploma in secret classes.

After the liberation work replaced war. I also studied further at the Wroclaw Polytechnik, worked on construction and lived on the coast. After 1956 I made the decision to join the PAX movement. I directed local PAX organizations in Katowice and Gdansk. I combined my further socio-political activity and professional work with it. I was involved with the association's economic activity. As a Sejm delegate I took part in the work of several Sejm committees. In October 1981 I was named minister of domestic trade and services. . . .

[Question] . . . and shortly thereafter you became vice-premier. That was in July 1982. The concept of coalitional state government in Poland has matured.

[Answer] The PAX Association was one of the signatories of the Patriotic Movement for National Renewal. It became the plane for active cooperation among people of various philosophies, believers and non-believers, with and without party affiliation, people from various social groups, generations and occupations. All those who accept the constitutional principles of the system of People's Poland.

The social progressive PAX movement was among the initiators of the Patriotic Movement for National Renewal. We fully acknowledge the role of the working class party in the process of building socialism. The workers' party fulfills it in coalition with its allies. We are one of them. We are not bringing the coalition concept to my part in the work of the government. For its essence is based on the contribution of all constructive social forces in citizen consultation, in public discussion preparing state decisions. Such consultation takes place in the forum of the Sejm and its committees, during proceedings of national councils at all levels and meetings with constituents. Also when candidates for the Sejm are presented. As vice-premier I am the chairman and somewhat of a host of the discussions of advisory councils and consulting committees most often appointed on the basis of Sejm decisions, e.g., committees to counteract alcoholism and drug abuse or anti-profiteering. In these groups the representatives of various departments and members of social or professional organizations by no means present the same opinions. Various positions clash, numerous arguments are presented. The committee's position then originates from them.

The development of socialist democracy, autonomy in society and, as a consequence, the participation of broad groups of citizens in public life is the road leading to national understanding.

[Question] There is a citizen debate occurring on the campaign declaration. How far, in your opinion, has it gone to meet the expectations of society?

[Answer] It is certainly not a complete list of issues and problems. In this respect the declaration is open. But it undoubtedly touches on all the issues that are most vital -- today and tomorrow -- for our society. It expresses the strong conviction that socialist Poland is the highest good for all its citizens. It expresses the conviction that in our country there is no alternative to a policy of dialogue and understanding, to struggle against the opponents of People's Poland, against social ills; there is no alternative to a policy of reform. The citizen debate should enrich the declaration with new proposals for the program of socialist renewal, with arguments and proposals on how to solve common problems.

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POLAND

ROLE OF JOURNALISTS IN ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 9, Sep 85 p 3

[Text] The role and duties of journalists in the election campaign for the Sejm's 9th term were the subject of a meeting of leading authorities of the PRL's Journalists' Association that took place on 1 August at the Warsaw Journalists' Club. Members of the board of directors, chairman of some branch boards, officers of the board and members of the Main Appeals Committee participated in the meeting, which was chaired by Wieslaw Bek, vice-chairman of the association.

In a preface to the discussed delivered by general secretary Andrzej Maslankiewicz, the political and social significance of the pre-election campaign was discussed, the importance of the duties lying with journalists was stressed and those attending were informed about possible candidacies for the rolls of Sejm delegate candidates.

The following journalists were among those in the sphere of interest: Jerzy Bielecki, Zygmunt Broniarek, Jozef Kielb, Klemens Krzyzagorski, Jozef Krolikowski, Waldemar Krajewski, Witold Lipski, Ryszard Lukasiewicz, Edmund Meclewski, Tadeusz Myslik, Roman Pillardy, Anna Pawlowska, Marian Podkowinski, Mieczyslaw Rog-Swiostek, Ryszard Wojna, Henryk Walenda, Jan Waleczek, Leonard Wachalski, Jozef Wojcik, Alfred Wawrzyniak, Bronislaw Zapala, Krystyna Zielinska and Kazimierz Zarzycki.

In the course of the discussion this list was supplemented by the following names: Stanislaw Celichowski, Jerzy Ringer, Wieslaw Bek, Jozef Barecki, Andrzej Szpringer, Tadeusz Fita and Czeslaw Dabrowski.

Those in attendance offered support to the candidates who were introduced, declaring that they deserved the confidence of the group.

The following appeal was approve at the conclusion of the meeting.

The Board of Directors of the Journalists' Association of the PRL, in the first days of the election campaign to the 9th term of the Sejm of the PRL, addresses all its colleagues.

We are participating in a great political and social campaign whose results will affect the future of socialist Poland, our national existence and the life of each of us.

Participation in the campaign is our professional and civic duty following from fulfillment of public service.

We must also be aware that our work during the next few weeks will be much more difficult. Unusually accountable, marked by specificity and thorough analysis, accurate in our choice of arguments and objective. Characterized by competence in the critical appraisal of past and contemporary shortcomings, but also by competence in presenting the goals and tasks of the future.

We are presenting the candidates, their attitudes and achievements, their justifications, positions and views of Poland's most vital interests in a full, honest way that is removed from banality and stereotype.

We must be able to show the common, national goals and tasks that will enable the people to rise above division, mistrust, passivity and expectations. The accomplishment of these tasks will depend on the active position of the entire society. Differences of opinion and critical appraisal -- if they do not negate constitutional principles -- can be a valuable contribution to the debate over the shape of our tomorrow.

Our task is convincing of the primary right that is the good of the Republic.

Important editorial tasks await us. Tasks following from membership in the PRL's Journalists' Association. We are bound, as are all Poles, by the obligations stemming from civic responsibility.

We will have satisfaction in contributing to the Sejm's 9th term's being representative of the entire nation and contributing to the future development of socialist Poland through its work.

There can be no shortage of journalists on the Sejm's benches. In fulfilling this responsible social service in the Sejm, they will meet with our support.

Warsaw 1 August 1985.

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POLAND

CALENDAR OF MAJOR PRESS EVENTS, EDITORIAL CHANGES, JULY 85

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 9, Sep 85 pp 57-61

[Excerpts] 1 July Janusz Bogacz was named assistant editor in chief of TeMI.

1 July Florian Dluzak was named editor in chief of PRASA POLSKA.

1 July Klemens Krzyzagorski was recalled from his position as editor in chief of PRASA POLSKA.

1 July Tomasz Piwowarun was named assistant manager-editor in chief of the Interpress Agency.

1 July Lucja Suchocka was named assistant editor in chief of NASZA WIES.

10 July in Warsaw, Tadeusz Mlynczak, president of the "Polonia" Association, met with the board of the Polonia Club of the PRL's Democratic Party. Problems of the polonia summer and preparations for the association's 30th anniversary festivities were discussed.

11 July Waldemar Wasilewski was recalled from his position of assistant editor in chief of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICA in connection with appointment as Moscow correspondent for that publication.

15 July Zbigniew Bozek was recalled from his position as Moscow correspondent for TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA.

15 July Jozef Jarzabek was named assistant editor in chief of TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY, retaining his present duties as secretary of that publication.

19 July Zdzislaw Janoz was named editor in chief of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

22 July Maria Zybert was named assistant editor in chief of PRZYACIOLKA.

29 July in Warsaw a meeting of the presidium of the Sejm with parliamentary correspondents took place in connection with the Sejm's ending term. During the meeting the Sejm's Commemorative Medal, awarded by the presidium for outstanding achievement in the field of dissemination of information and knowledge about the work of the Sejm's 8th term, was presented to the

Television News, the Polish Press Agency national office, "Poranne Sygnaly" of Polish Radio, PRAWO I ZYCIE and RZECZPOSPOLITA. The Sejm speaker's prize was awarded to editors Stanislaw Bednarski (Polish Radio), Janusz Czernikiewicz (DZIENNIK LUDOWY), Andrzej Dobrzynski (PERSPEKTYWY), Irena Dryll (ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE), Zdzislaw Dudzik (DZIENNIK POLSKI), Barbara Gardowska (Polish Radio), Marian Kruczkowski (Polish Radio), Wladyslaw Majewski (SZTANDAR MLODYCH), Ewa Ostrowska (Interpress), Mieczyslaw Skapski (GLOS WIELKOPOLSKI) and Krzysztof Strzelecki (Interpress). Participating in the meeting were managers from the Press, Radio and Television Division, managers of the press agencies and radio and television and newspaper and magazine editors in chief.

1 May Miroslaw Ziach was named secretary of the National Workers Agency.

31 May Jerzy Kowalkowski was recalled from his position as assistant editor in chief of FAKTY I KOMENTARZE at his request.

3 June Jerzy Sawicki was recalled from his position as assistant editor in chief of NASZA WIES at his request.

21 June Czeslaw Dondzillo was named editor in chief of FILM and recalled from his position as assistant editor in chief of that publication.

30 June Kazimierz Woznicki was recalled from his position as assistant editor in chief of CHLOPSKA DROGA.

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POLAND

'SPIRAL' OF TERRORISM EXAMINED

LD090931 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2210 GMT 8 Oct 85

[From the "World Panorama" program presented by Grzegorz Dziedowicz and Andrezej Zychowicz]

[Text] [Dziedowicz] Terrorism is present yet again. Again agencies are full of dispatches about another terrorist action, and again fears for hostages' lives are mixed with questions as to how it came about and could it have been prevented. Yet again, irrespective of the motives, the lives of innocent people--in this case of the passengers of an Italian ship, the "Achille Lauro"--have become a stake in a political game.

[Zychowicz] At present the spiral of terrorism is reaching truly enormous proportions. Let us recall: the attack by the Israeli Air Force on Tunis, the kidnapping of four Soviet diplomats in Beirut, one of whom has been murdered, and now the kidnapping of the Italian passenger ship with several hundred passengers and the ship's crew abroad. These are things that shock and at the same time mobilize world public opinion against terrorism. Apparently, the Palestinian Liberation Front has carried out this attack, but we don't know who is behind it. Anyhow, the PLO dissociated itself from it. I will quote here a statement by the Italian Communist Party, which has been cited by various agencies, that this is a game which suits those forces that want to bring to naught any possibility of a peaceful solution to the Middle East problem. I will recall that when we talked about the aerial attack on Tunis, we also said that it was a blow against the political and peaceful efforts to resolve the Middle East problem. Terrorism stands in the way of resolving international problem, is probably how to put it.

[Dziedowicz] Certainly. But you have mentioned public opinion here. It is quite powerless against such acts, these acts of violence. In point of fact, one never knows when, where and from direction the blow will come.

[Zychowicz] Yes, but, you know, what is to be done now? Should force be used? Italian Defense Minister Giovanni Spadolini rules out use of force in this instance, fearing for the lives of several hundred people. On the other hand, how is done to react? Are the hijackers' demands to be yielded to? This is the problem faced by everyone at present.

[Dziemidowicz] Yes, well, the majority of states whose citizens are aboard the ship are holding consultations. Maybe, after all, some armed operation will hatch. But I remind you that that entire area of the Middle East, which is fairly small after all, is one great powder keg. The very same Mediterranean around which the "Achille Lauro" is now cruising with the terrorists, the crew and the passengers aboard is an area sailed by 25 U.S. warships, the 6th Fleet, with the aircraft carrier "Saratoga" and warships of other states. It is precisely in that area where the majority of terrorist actions, military operations and wars has been accumulating over the last few years.

[Zychowicz] The area is certainly becoming increasingly dangerous, and I believe that it's probably high time to start resolving the problem. Well, we don't know which way the negotiations, back-stage talks and various diplomatic actions which accompany this explosive situation will go. But I believe that maybe acts of terrorism should more strongly induce all interested parties finally to sit down at a negotiating table. It is hard to say how such negotiations would go--there are various initiatives--but it should be remembered that there is still such a thing as this international conference with the participation of both the Soviet Union and the United States, the two great powers which after all are interested in resolving Middle East problems.

Maybe I could just say here that this operation against the ship is a fairly rare terrorist phenomenon. We are used, if this is the right expression, to news about hostages being taken in some embassy, some settlement...

[Dziemidowicz interrupts] A plane hijack...

[Zychowicz interrupts] Yes, but a ship? We haven't had this in a long time. I recall that the first such incident was the hijacking of the ship "Santa Maria" by Gen Humberto Delgado, living in exile in Brazil, who organized the hijacking of the ship--it was a Portuguese ship with 600 persons on board, crew and passengers--and 70 hijackers planned to go to Angola to start an uprising against Salazar. In the end they surrendered to the Brazilian authorities. That was one of the most notorious actions involving a passenger ship.

[Dziemidowicz] Yes, but now this hijacking of the "Achilles Lauro" shows that hijackers are also varying their methods and that terrorists are using new forms of violence and not just those to which we are accustomed and against which we are trying to defend ourselves.

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POLAND

COMMISSION PLANS INTELLIGENTSIA ROLE, TASKS

AU071834 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5-6 Oct 85 pp 1, 2

[Excerpt] PAP--On 4 October there was a fourth meeting of the 19th Plenum Resolutions and Conclusions Commission, which is preparing a program for implementing the resolutions of the 19th Central Committee Plenum on the place and tasks of the intelligentsia in the country's socialist development and on the conditions behind its work and activity. The meeting was chaired by Politburo candidate member Marian Orzechowski.

The subject of the meeting was a draft program being prepared by the Commission's teams on the basis of 19th Plenum material and numerous opinions and proposals sent to the commission by party organizations, creative associations, and individuals.

The draft program defines the method of implementing party policy vis-a-vis the intelligentsia, especially the prospects of increasing its participation in the country's socioeconomic life. It also covers tasks designed to improve the working conditions of the chief intelligentsia's responsibility for accelerating scientific and technical progress in accordance with the country's socioeconomic development goals and for the sake of developing science and culture, which enrich society's spiritual life. At the same time, it stipulates the ways of and resources for gradually improving the material conditions of basic professional groups of intelligentsia and providing them with equipment for their work.

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POLAND

GORNICKI, URBAN NEWS CONFERENCE

AU102216 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Oct 85 pp 5-6

["Transcript" of the 1 October Warsaw press conference given for foreign journalists by government spokesman Jerzy Urban and Premier's Adviser Wieslaw Gornicki]

[Excerpts] Micos Konstantopoulos, RUZOPASTIS, Greece: Did W. Jaruzelski have many top level meetings in New York? Has he been invited to visit foreign countries and has he invited any statesmen to visit Poland?

Gornicki: I think he did invite all the statesmen he met, but I am not quite sure about Mr Felipe Gonzales. I will have to check on this. But he did invite all the statesmen he met, including President Sarney and King Husayn. Ministers were not invited. W. Jaruzelski was invited to visit Brazil. Dates have not been seen as yet, but commitments will determine whether President Sarney or W. Jaruzelski will make the first visit.

Matthew Vita, AP: Could you tell us the subjects of the talks between W. Jaruzelski and such important persons as Messrs Brzezinski, Rockefeller, and Eagleburger? Did W. Jaruzelski ask them to transmit a message to the U.S. authorities and did they give him any hints as to the development of the Polish domestic situation--hints that might influence future relations?

Gornicki: The meeting with Mr Rockefeller was very long. He asked to regard it as private and it was. I was present at the lunch after the meeting, but I do not feel I should disclose what was said during it, except that it was one of the most interesting political meetings in which I have ever participated. Professor Brzezinski and Mr Eagleburger have no official government functions, and talks with them were no substitute for official talks. They came to the meeting to exchange private views. Whether these gentlemen had any messages is not our concern, and I do not think that the issue is especially important.

Once again I want to stress most strongly that we took no initiative whatever to have open or secret contacts with representatives of the U.S. administration. All reports on this subject were untrue from top to bottom. Whatever W. Jaruzelski had to say about Polish-U.S. relations was communicated to representatives of the U.S. press in the form of interviews or in the form of meetings with the leaders of the large press and television concerns.

Antonio Jaraloyes, EFE: Could you comment on W. Jaruzelski's meeting with Felipe Gonzales? Is it true that F. Gonzales acted as mediator between W. Jaruzelski and President Reagan?

Gornicki: I have never heard that a social democratic politician could mediate in connection with President Reagan's ideological positions. I think this question does not even deserve a denial. The suggestion contained in it is manifestly untrue. W. Jaruzelski's meeting with Mr Gonzales lasted much longer than is customary, and we think that it was very useful.

Dominique Garraud, AFP: Will there be any reciprocal Polish-U.S. visits in connection with the Rockefeller Foundation?

Gornicki: There will be such visits, and I think they will be reciprocal. Their dates will be set very soon.

Christopher Bobinski, FINANCIAL TIMES: Is it possible that Professor Brzezinski will visit Poland?

Gornicki: Everything is possible, but all I can say at present is that no visit was mentioned. However, you may be interested to know that Professor Brzezinski was presented with original documents relating to his family, which had been found in the archives. One of the documents relates to his father's military service. I can tell you that Professor Brzezinski was very pleased with this gift. Considering his personality, it is hard for me to say that he was moved, but something of that kind was visible in his face.

Kay Withers, BALTIMORE SUN: I have two questions. Do you think some fiscal assistance for Poland may materialize as a result of W. Jaruzelski's visit? Could you expand on W. Jaruzelski's talks with Cardinal Krol?

Gornicki: We have often declared that Poland needs no assistance. What it needs is normal credit and fiscal relations, which are the basic condition for repaying our debts. The present situation, which has probably no precedent in history, is that the creditor makes it intentionally difficult for the debtor to repay his debts. One could jokingly say that if the creditor really does not want the debtor to repay his debts, then let it be so. Of course, I am joking. Poland wants to repay its debts, but we must bear in mind that assistance in the form of the Marshall Plan is a thing of the distant past and there can be no question of any such assistance now. That is why when you ask whether we want assistance, my answer is definitely not.

As for W. Jaruzelski's meeting with Cardinal Krol, this elderly personage, who is greatly attached to Poland and to things Polish and who is the American Polonia's pastoral protector, made a great and positive impression on W. Jaruzelski. The distinctive feature of the meeting was mutual respect. I did not attend this meeting, but I was told that it was a fully successful and, perhaps, desirable meeting.

Dominique Garraud: Was the repayment of Poland's debts to Brazil discussed during the meeting with President Sarney? Is Poland ready to take some

special action to repay its debts more quickly in view of Brazil's most difficult fiscal situation owing to debts amounting to \$100 billion?

Gornicki: Let me recall that it is not customary to one-sidedly reveal details of talks between leaders, unless communiquees explicitly allow it. I also want to refute the rumor that some Polish-Brazilian plot has been hatched. Nothing of the kind has taken place. If you are interested in our view on international indebtedness, please consult W. Jaruzelski's speech given at the United Nations. There is no doubt that this subject was discussed during the talks, during which it was agreed that we must develop mutual cooperation because this is the only way to increase our economy's ability to export and that Brazil can help it do so. This is the only way to pay our debts. I can tell you all this because it is contained in the communique.

Micos Konstantopoulos: How do you evaluate the climate of the Sejm elections 10 days before polling day, against the background of the present political and economic situation of Poland and its successes in the United Nations?

Urban: In our country life is so colorful and moods are so capricious that it is difficult to talk about the mood on the polling day 10 days ahead of it, however, I can say that the entire election campaign has exceeded all expectations as to its importance, the number of meetings, the attendance at meetings, the number of questions, the candor and sharpness of statements, the seriousness of questions, the attendance of young people, and the over-crowding of meeting halls. People continue to ask for more election meetings and meetings with candidates than we have been able to organize. All this indicates that our people are greatly interested in the elections, approach them with great seriousness, and have great hopes for the future Sejm.

Robert Strybel, POLONIA Press: You have been asked before about this issue. Some foreign papers reported to the world, in connection with Mr Walesa's statement that he would not vote and would not ask the people to boycott the elections, that in Poland one is free not to vote and free to openly state that one would not vote, but that one is not free to appeal to others to boycott voting. Can he who makes a public appeal to people to boycott the elections be punished if he does not break the law on displaying posters and on organizing public gatherings?

Urban: As I have already said, it all depends on the circumstances--on whether such a person belongs to an illegal organization and whether such appeals seek to slander Poland and its authorities or smack of other offenses that can be committed by word of mouth. It is impossible to clarify in advance the legal implications of every such case, but the appeals mentioned by you are subject to various legal rules, which do not necessarily apply to elections as such. The situation is much simpler in other countries in which one is obliged to vote and may be punished for not doing so. In our country we do not even contemplate such legal rules. We count on people's civic awareness and not on repression.

Christopher Bobinski: Following changes in the law on university education, do the authorities intend to dismiss scientific workers and students from universities for political reasons?

Urban: There are no such dismissals and no intentions to practice them. However, what we want to do is to increase the educational work at universities and to induce scientific workers to respect all their duties, including instruction and education. There are legal criteria for reviews of cadres and some of these criteria include the minimum, loyalty toward the state and the role in upbringing.

Barbara Drozdz, ZYCIE WARSZAWY: Minister, is it true that Alicja Lisiecka has returned to Poland? Do you have any comments on this?

Urban: Yes, she did return to Poland, but I see no reason for commenting on this fact by a government spokesman. It is not important enough. I know people on the KULTURA Editorial Board and they let me read a copy of the letter she had sent to this weekly. Among other things, she expresses her disappointment with conditions abroad. Let me explain who Alicja Lisiecka is because no one here, except for Barbara Drozdz, knows who she is. Readers of the newspapers that quote me on Alicja Lisiecka may also not know who she is. She is a literary critic and worked at one time for NOWA KULTURA, which no longer exists. She emigrated to the West, used to broadcast for Radio Free Europe and attack our country, and now is back in Poland.

Kay Withers: Did Mrs Barbara Jaruzelska attend any meetings with her husband in New York? I have in mind social gatherings and not political meetings? What was her program?

Gornicki: Dr Jaruzelska's visit to New York was strictly private. She did not attend any political meetings, and her husband had no time for social gatherings.

Deborah Seward, NEWSWEEK: Minister, it is obvious your government had made great efforts to promote the election campaign. Could you tell us its cost?

Urban: Despite your suggestions, the government did not promote the election campaign because it is not its task. That is why I am unable to answer your question. Small funds to finance elections come from very varied sources. Precise information will be available after the elections when the expenditures from these various sources have been calculated. In any case, the costs in question are small compared with their counterparts in the West. We have also to differentiate between propaganda expenditures from a multitude of sources and election expenditures, which are state expenditures.

Donald Forbes, REUTER: Could you tell us anything about the visit of the IMF delegation? Was it the last visit or are future visits possible?

Urban: I am unable to tell you anything about the results of this visit because the delegation has still not finished its work. We do not know whether this visit is the last one, but we expect that this delegation is the last one to study our conditions before considering our application for admission to the IMF.

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POLAND

REGIONAL RADIO BROADCASTING

LD232042 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 23 Oct 85

[Text] A program meeting of the radio commissions of the socialist states' broadcasting systems which belong to the International Radio and Television Organization [OIRT] is in progress in Warsaw. (Andrzej Wyrzychowski), Polish radio program director, talks about it:

[Wyrzychowski] The chief problem was the issue of regional broadcasting stations in two basic aspects; the creation of local programs and the participation of regional stations in the national program. It was proposed and approved--in accordance with the Polish proposals, in fact--that the problem of local programs and regional broadcasting stations in general be included in the work schedule of the OIRT. The participation by broadcasting stations in the creation of the central Polish nationwide program will increase. This is essential. It is the basis for saying that this is Polish radio and not Warsaw radio. This solution is a good one for all the broadcasting systems. There is in general a certain regionalism as regards radio operations and an element of the regionalism comprising the central program is simply a healthy trend which should be (?encouraged): Like an already overgrown child which we have to carry to make sure that it lives to a ripe old age.

[Question] And the listener will know more?

[Wyrzychowski] Yes, he will know more, and the picture of the country, the picture of the state, will be more complete. Poland's affairs must not be looked at only from Warsaw. They must also be seen from Bialystok, Zielona Gora and from Katowice, and Krakow. The national program, as I see it, is a program which is not just broadcast to the whole of Poland but created by the whole of Poland too.

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POLAND

COMMUNICATIONS MINISTER ON MEDIA, SATELLITE TELEVISION

LD181420 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 18 Oct 85

[Correspondent Wanda Pawlowicz interviews minister of communications, on Communications Workers Day]

[Text] [Pawlowicz] Complaints are out of place on your day; and it is worth mentioning that it is thanks to you that we radio and TV journalists exist, for the Communications Ministry ensures that we can listen to the radio, watch television and also link up with ships in far-flung places on the seas and oceans of the world.

[Majewski] Yes, indeed. We have four radio programs, two TV channels. The degree of coverage varies: The long-wave program covers the whole country, the UHF program too, in practice; as for the medium-waves, it depends on the time of day, but it is up to 75 percent. The coverage of the TV channels: For Channel One, it is in the region of 94 percent and for Channel Two, (?only) 74 percent--so one has to call this unsatisfactory, certainly.

[Pawlowicz] What is the technical standard of the radio and TV transmitting base?

[Majewski] It varies: We have very modern installations, like for example the main long-wave transmitter in Gabin, near Gabin. The transmitter in Raszyn is old now and requires modernization in the coming 5-year period. Some medium-range stations--Poznan, Rzeszow--will also be modernized. We envisage the construction of new stations in Szczecin and Gdansk. As for UHF stations, we envisage the modernization of some transmitters and the construction of new ones.

Similarly, as regards television, we plan new transmitters of Channel One in Radamsko, Lublin, Szczawnica and Wisla and eight transmitting structures for Channel Two.

[Pawlowicz] Minister, to what extent do we make use of satellite television? We belong, after all, to the Intersputnik and Intersat systems.

[Majewski] Yes. It depends what we mean by making use of television. We have a satellite station [word indistinct] working in both the above-mentioned systems; and through that station we have the possibility of exchanging TV programs

with the whole world, with the capitalist and the socialist countries, and we will continue that. On the other hand, the construction of a satellite television program so that TV subscribers would receive a program directly by satellite is another thing. Such a program will be prepared. The socialist countries, including our country, are working on this at the moment. We envisage that after 1990--it is hard to be precise at the moment--such a program will come into operation, let us call it Channel Three, a nationwide channel; the [word indistinct] of the numbering is a further issue, of course.

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POLAND

RAKOWSKI SPEAKS AT ARTS AWARD CEREMONY

AU101637 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Oct 85 pp 1, 5

[Report on speech by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski at an award ceremony for achievements in the arts, given at the office of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw on 8 October]

[Text] Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski congratulated award recipients on behalf of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers. Addressing those assembled, he said:

We meet at a very important time for Poland. The Sejm elections will take place in 6 days' time. The results of the elections will indicate the level of stabilization which has been achieved in the sociopolitical situation in our country. They will reveal the thoughts of our compatriots, their attitude toward the policy of the party and the state at the present time.

The election campaign has provided much proof which attests to an increase in activity among important sections of society. At most meetings with Sejm deputy candidates little is said about the past, including the recent past. More is said about what bothers people today, about what irritates millions of citizens as they go about their daily lives.

The greatest amount of attention is focused on the future. For many people the future is still not clearly outlined, although they realize instinctively that Poland stands before a historical challenge. This challenge concerns more than making up for the shortcomings which have arisen in almost all areas of life over the last few years, especially material conditions--including those in the arts and culture, it also concerns the creation of conditions which will eliminate the danger of falling far behind world standards in science and technology.

The creation of these conditions does not take place in a vacuum: Material values are closely linked to culture and the arts, to the quality of a nation's spiritual life. The quality of this life depends on you--writers, actors, composers, musicians, sculptors, and the organizers of cultural life. It also depends on the direction taken by the state's cultural policy.

Without wishing to divert artists' attention from the recent past, from dealing with subjects connected with the storm which passed over Poland, we will

accord particular attention to creativity and thought directed at the future; creativity which enriches the wisdom and the enduring, noble, spiritual values of the citizen of People's Poland, who will take over the helm from our generation and will enter the 21st century conscious of the challenge I have mentioned.

We believe that, guided by ideological and patriotic interests, artists will devote their entire talent to enriching the lives of Poles with experiences that will make us a modern nation in thought and in action, well prepared to compete with other nations and to create the enduring values of the socialist epoch.

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POLAND

POLITBURO DISCUSSES ALCOHOLISM, DRUG ABUSE

LD111111 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 10 Oct 85

[No video available]

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo has discussed the efforts of countermeasures against the most dangerous social plagues--alcoholism, social parasitism, drug abuse, and demoralization of juveniles. According to the Politburo, the laws concerning these phenomena introduced in recent years have brought some results, but the existing state cannot be considered as satisfactory. It is indispensable to diminish further the scale of dangers, and to protect society, young people in particular, more efficiently. It was underscored that such a view is resolutely supported by the working class and broad circles of the public. Such opinion was often expressed during the course of the SEJM election campaign.

Combatting alcoholism requires particular sharpening: actions so far have brought only partial and limited results. Considerable liberalism in treating alcoholism in places of work by some management circles, activists of workers self-management, party trade union and social organizations is still being noticed, with the guilty ones being easily and willingly excused.

While underscoring that sobriety should become an observed norm of public life, the Politburo pointed to the fact that the consistence in everyday implementation of certain regulations in the elimination of alcohol from workplaces, institutions, state offices and from party echelons, requires more acute control and responsibility by the management of enterprises and supervisory bodies, above all over people who violate the regulations and supervisors who adopt a tolerant attitude toward the violation. The accomplishment of these goals requires coordinated and resolute actions by the party, state, economic bodies, echelons and organizations, the trade union movement, government and social antialcohol committees, associations for sobriety, religious organizations, and the press, radio and television.

It was stated that combatting the demoralization of juveniles, work shirking, and theft--phenomena often connected with alcoholism--requires the observance of similar principles, and consistent and scrupulous application of the existing legal regulations. Attention was drawn to the need for effective use of means, and efficient implementation of the program for combatting drug abuse for 1985-86.

The Politburo discussed the state of organizing worker-peasant inspection and the results of its assessment concerning the correctness of allocation of dwellings. Almost one-half of state administration offices in cities where particular conditions of lease are in force, and every fourth housing cooperative have been inspected. After analyzing almost 34,000 decisions connected with allocation and exchange of dwellings, the correctness of the decisions made by state administration and cooperative offices was questioned in 2,700 cases. It was found that in some cases that the principles of social justice and regulations were infringed and that there was a lack of honesty in examining matters. Recommendations were submitted to 53 local bodies of state administration and 32 housing cooperatives to institute disciplinary procedures toward 152 people, including 21 parish executive officers, their deputies and heads of departments in town and town-parish offices, and 16 chairman, deputy chairman and heads of departments in housing cooperatives.

Party control commissions examine the cases of party members guilty of irregularities or responsible for lack of supervision.

The Politburo recommended the elaboration of the detailed plans of procedures for implementation of conclusions derived from inspections carried out so far. The results of inspection of construction enterprises by the party, state and social bodies were also discussed. Thrift and order in construction sites was appraised.

While adopting a critical attitude toward stated deficiencies, the Politburo recommended extensive use of conclusions from the inspections in the work of the Ministry of Construction, in enterprises, and also in the newly-established Council for Housing Matters.

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POLAND

PARTY CONTROL SHOULD FOCUS ON 'ATTITUDES,' NOT PUNISHMENT

AU221521 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 9 Oct 85, issue 21, p 8

[Report signed "RUR": "Attitudes and Not Punishment"]

[Text] Zbigniew Gorkiewcz, chairman of the Voivodship Party Control Commission in Szczecin, has said:

The number of issues dealt with illustrates the results of the work accomplished by the Voivodship Party Control Commission in Szczecin, but I do not wish to present any boring statistics, which is just one of the proofs to show that the commission's performance is effective. It is not party punishment but our efforts to "put right" many individual problems and fates and to assist people that are the main feature of our control activities. We have not been rash in eliminating members from party rolls and in dealing with many applications for readmission to party ranks.

I think that our commission must see in the near future that the responsibility of all echelons of the voivodship party organization for effective party control is raised. I have in mind various control, cells, especially internal control in enterprises and plants. The share of every party control commission in developing the party's cadre policy must be increased. It is also high time to tighten the criteria of control activities and of evaluating the attitudes of all party members. The evaluations should involve the following most important criteria: Political attitudes, moral worth, attitude toward public property, dutifulness and discipline in implementing party resolutions, and discipline at work.

We are constantly aware of the fact that not everything has been done as yet. The ideological struggle is continuing, and its results continue to make an obvious impact on party members' attitudes. Failure to understand the complicated nature of political tasks often results in ideological capitulation and in forgetting the duties mapped out by the party statute, party morality, and class principles.

In our daily work we do not want to be merely guardians of party discipline and the purity of party ranks. We must also defend the statutory rights of party members.

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POLAND

POREBSKI VIEWS YOUNG PEOPLE'S ATTITUDES

AU081513 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH (supplement) in Polish 4-6 Oct 85 pp 1, 4

[Interview given by Tadeusz Porebski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, to Pawel Lewandowski: "Let Us Not Look Askance at Reality" --date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Lewandowski] How do you see the young people's attitudes toward the most important problems of our people and state?

[Porebski] The young people of today are certainly no worse than those before them, but, of course, their aspirations and living conditions are different. Taking the Wroclaw Polytechnical School [Porebski was its rector at one time] as an example, we can say that the young people of today have a sense of responsibility. The school's aktivs were often critical, but they kept their criticism within reasonable bounds. Perhaps they were not ambitious enough to claim that they were working for the people and the state and perhaps their motives were more modest and were rooted in their local--their Wroclaw--patriotism, but this was just as important. It seems to me that large sections of young people have a sense of responsibility.

[Lewandowski] This is a rather flattering view.... However, there are those who assert that young people's aspirations are too lofty, that young people are dissatisfied with their living standards, and that this makes them frustrated and doubtful whether it pays to work honestly and be socially active. Is this really so?

[Porebski] I could write a book to answer this question. When I was a student, my colleagues and I had great aspirations for those days. This is a natural right of youth. Later on in life one can see that not everything is a piece of cake and that it is impossible to achieve everything. No doubt every man in the street dreams of an apartment, a car, and trips abroad. The problem is that these dreams were stimulated in the 70's when Poland was enjoying some measure of prosperity and when our people did not realize that they were living on borrowed money. The average citizen is privileged not to have to wonder where prosperity comes from. There was an abundance of unrealistic promises in the 70's, but all we have now is a crisis. It is unfortunate that today we have to learn that rash promises of cars and apartments cannot be fulfilled. Young people find it difficult to learn this, all the more so since parents

always tell their children that they will do everything in their power to ensure that their children find living much easier. Parents seem to have a subconscious urge to do this. As a result, young people believe that they can quickly achieve material prosperity. However, life as it is frustrates these hopes and forces one to trim one's wishes, a process one is very reluctant to come to terms with, especially since one can compare our standards with those of the richest countries. We are not rich and will not be for a long time to come.

[Lewandowski] Young people refuse to accept this argument. Some 40 years after the war they want to enjoy reasonable living standards and not to listen to explanations why this is impossible.

[Porebski] Young people's emotional reactions are correct, but emotions must not be used as a criterion for appraisals. We need common sense and realism. Young people view the West through its window dressing and fail to see that even the richest people have problems, huge problems.

[Lewandowski] But how will you convince young people that this is so? They probably think that all you tell them is just cheap propaganda....

[Porebski] It is impossible to argue with emotions. We have to face the facts. Let us look at the history of our people and their position as a result of the war. Yes, I have to use the argument of war. What was the position of our people after the war compared with other countries? It is impossible to make leaps over certain phases of development. It seems that we should go from success to success, but the thing is that our system, too, faces difficult phases from time to time.

[Lewandowski] What about young people's trust in the party and state authorities?

[Porebski] If one's dreams are frustrated, it is natural that one is inclined to blame those who are responsible for individual areas of life in the state. This inclination to blame is rooted in emotion. We talk about rationalism all the time, but young people shun rationalism, which comes to them only later on in life and which has nothing in common with resignation or opportunism. A critical attitude toward the present and previous governments is a natural reaction. But there is another side to this coin. In order to solve problems, one should not look askance at reality, say "no" to the state, and give up being militant in public life. This is useless. The state may offer help in solving some initiatives because young people should not be left to their own devices. The state may organize their efforts in the form of sponsorship of construction projects or in some other forms. But the resolve to do things must be mutual.

[Lewandowski] The number of admissions of party candidates to the PZPR is some indication of young people's attitude toward the authorities.

[Porebski] Some 38,000 candidates have joined the party in the past 8 months. About 50 percent of these candidates are people of up to 29 years of age and most of them have been ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] members.

[Lewandowski] What about their motives? Are they different from the motives of your generation?

[Porebski] Their motives are primarily ideological. They also know that the party can give them a good knowledge of many state affairs and can enable them to influence the affairs of their communities. Party members also help to draw up the party program and are thus able to influence the fate of the country. I think these motives are always the same.

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POLAND

BRTEFS

PRC ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS SENT--On the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China Henryk Jablonski and Wojciech Jaruzelski on behalf of the highest state authorities and the Polish nation have sent a message of congratulations to the leaders of China. The message states that significant speeding up of development of mutually beneficial cooperation in many spheres has occurred in relations between Poland and China. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 30 Sep 85 LD]

ROMANIK ATTENDS SCHOOL OPENING--Higher education establishment commenced activity today in Katowice. It is a branch of the Warsaw Social Sciences Academy of the PZPR. This branch was set up by a decision of the party Central Committee Secretariat. The first year at the socioeconomics faculty will be attended by 235 students. The academic personnel consists of professors from the Social Sciences Academy, the Inter-Voivodship Party School, as well as the Silesian University and the Economics Academy in Katowice. Students' registration books for the courses were handed over. Among the guests attending the inauguration were representatives of the central and voivodship party authorities, with Jerzy Romanik, Politburo member, as well as representatives of the allied parties. [Text] [Warsaw Television Service in Polish 2055 GMT 2 Oct 85 LD]

CZYREJ ADDRESSES WRITERS MEETING--PAP--On 17 October, at the PZPR Central Committee, PZPR Politburo member Jozef Czyrek met with the chairmen of the delegations taking part in the 12th socialist writers conference in Warsaw. He spoke about the country's sociopolitical situation, stressing the significance of the results of the PPR Sejm election, in which the solid majority of Poles expressed support for the policy of socialist renewal and the transformations achieved since the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. He underlined the importance which the party attaches to creative attitudes from the intelligentsia and indicated the positive processes occurring in the literary community, which has meant a rapid reestablishment of the Polish Writers Union and its activity. Close cooperation with fraternal writers organizations is of enormous significance; that is why the results of the Warsaw conference of writers from the socialist countries are pleasing. [Jozef] Czyrek also informed the guests about the preparations for the Congress of Intellectuals in the Defense of Peace, which will take place in Warsaw in January 1986. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Oct 85 p 2 AU]

JARUZELSKI RECEIVES SOVIET GRADUATES--[Dateline indistinct] PUWP CC first secretary, Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski has received a delegation of the National

Commission of Graduates of Soviet Higher Schools, which is a part of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, in connection with the forthcoming national meeting of representatives of a dozen or so thousand strong group of Polish citizens who have graduated from Soviet higher schools. Among the graduates are renowned scholars and inventors, organizers of the economic life, engineers and [word indistinct] teachers, artists and social and state activists. The PUWP CC first secretary stressed the importance of Polish-Soviet friendship in the development of socialism and the strengthening of Poland's international position. During the meeting, the general also pointed to the need to expand direct contacts and exchange of experiences among students and graduates of higher schools, workers and professional engineers, representatives of cultural and scientific circles of both countries. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2119 GMT 18 Oct 85 LD]

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YUGOSLAVIA

SETINC DISCUSSES SLOVENIAN 'OPPOSITION'

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug 85 pp 8-12

[Interview with Franc Setinc, chairman of the Slovenian Republic Conference of the SAWP, by David Tasic: "There Cannot Be a 'Tolerated Opposition"'; date and place not specified]

[Text] Recently when one of our colleagues was talking with a person who holds a high political office in Slovenia he found it suitable to write in the introduction of his article: "There are several reasons for this interview, since many things have happened recently in Ljubljana and Slovenia which call for additional explication and put this republic of ours at the top of the list of interest on the part of the domestic and indeed even the foreign public."

As a matter of fact, "certain things in Slovenia," which in certain times and places are being treated as cases of excess (we tried in the last issue of INTERVJU to present some of the ways in which Slovenians view such "treatments"), have aroused and are arousing diverse interests.

However, in Slovenia they merely brush off many of the critical observations, saying that some of the events are to a large extent an expression of the democratization of sociopolitical life, of creation of a climate of trust, and of the broad space for achievement of pluralism in opinions and freedom of dialogue. It is also said that this kind of situation, which signifies the disappearance of political monopolies and which constitutes a guarantee of achievement of socialist self-management, has come about through the activity of the Slovenian SAWP, the organization with the largest membership which is carrying on the traditions of the Liberation Front (OF), of which the Slovenians are proud.

We first asked the subject of our interview, Franc Setinc, chairman of the Slovenian Republic Conference of the SAWP and one of the central figures of sociopolitical life in this country, to comment on the impression that Slovenia has gone the furthest in political dialogue.

[Answer] It would not be for me to say whether we in Slovenia have actually gone the furthest in developing political dialogue, not only because of modesty (least of all out of false modesty), but because I would not be accused

of attributing special attributes to Slovenia, which would signify that others lack them.

The potential for the SAWP to be opened still more widely has not been exhausted yet by any means. It is a pity, since sources of creativity are concentrated in it which we sorely need at this moment. The sections have not been developed enough, nor are they vigorous enough. Government and other bodies would enact fewer poor and sometimes even ill-conceived measures if within the SAWP they encountered not only criticism, but also specific alternatives of better solutions. There would be less bureaucracy, bureaucratic arbitrariness and the like if the SAWP were to perform what I would call its role as a watchdog as defined in the constitution. I am not saying that there is none of that, but there is still too little of it.

I have said several times that our system cannot operate unless the organization of the SAWP is up-to-date, developed in all respects and vigorous in everyday life. I am thinking here of an SAWP which is active among the masses, rather than a kind of upside-down pyramid, where there is quite a bit of activity at the top, in the forums, but less and less "down below," in the masses. Dr Boris Paternu, a well-known figure in Slovenian culture, put it well when he said that this pyramid must be turned toward the problems and toward people, toward interests which are alive. Today more than ever before we need an OF of the present time, an organization which must draw its creative drive from tradition, an organization which in the time of the NOB [National Liberation Struggle] signified breadth, humanism, a very large membership and a penetrating vigor, an organization which was a synonym for unity. Another source from which the SAWP must draw its strength are the tasks in the present and the prospects of our future, and that is why it must equip itself so that it can also guide the creativity of people with differing views toward a common goal. If it does not succeed in that, the SAWP will not be an alliance of all the subjective forces and it will not be an authentic expression of the vital interests of the working people. Success, of course, depends in many respects on the League of Communists as well, which must be in the lead of the movement toward what is better and more progressive. Or, put differently: the League of Communists cannot behave like a locomotive which is pulling the train alright, but the cars are half-empty.

[Question] A strong organization of the SAWP, oriented toward broad pluralism, is indisputably one of the basic preconditions for democratization of our society. Yet where is the "limit of tolerance" which determines allegiance to the ideas of socialism, self-management, nonalignment and ethnic equality, as the fundamental principles of our society?

[Answer] A "line of tolerance" can be drawn only in social practice, above all, of course, according to the criterion of deeds, not only words or declared allegiance, however revolutionary those words may be, and however nice they may sound to our ear. It is not enough for us to say that we are in favor of socialism and self-management, in favor of nonalignment and ethnic equality, but that has to be confirmed in action as well. The best standard is a willingness to enter into conflict with all sorts of monopolies and privileges. Just as we are fighting against all domination of the large states

over the small and medium-sized ones with the policy of nonalignment in international affairs, so in domestic relations we are waging a fight with socialist self-management for relations of equality among people and nationalities, i.e., ethnic groups.

[Question] We hear ever more loudly expressed the thesis of a rightwing "tolerated opposition," which accepts the rules of the political game, renouncing political claims to take power in exchange for certain concessions and the opportunity to organize itself institutionally (publishing activity, reviews and magazines).

[Answer] There simply cannot and must not be that kind of rightwing "tolerated opposition" which would accept the political "rules of the game," renouncing the struggle for power or division of power. Anyone who accepts the rules of the game of socialist self-management democracy thereby actually renounces the struggle for power, and thereby ceases to be a rightwing "tolerated opposition."

Which means that we no longer have a rightwing "tolerated opposition," but we have a rightwing opposition that is not tolerated, which is concealing itself behind the pluralism of self-management, but cannot conceal its aspirations in the struggle for those changes in the political system which in their ultimate consequences would signify a struggle for power.

[Question] To what extent has its subsequent (last year) admission of its errors (for example, the "Dachau trials") helped to consolidate or shake the reputation of the party in society in view of the fact that some people are still referring to the errors committed?

[Answer] The fact that the Slovenian LC shed light in its statement on the period of time in which the so-called "Dachau trials" took place, that it expressed regret because of the grave errors which were committed, and undertook to pay damages to the victims of those trials, did not weaken its reputation and importance by any means. The Slovenian LC thereby expressed its responsibility to history and the future and also its real power.

[Question] It is a fact that the question of responsibility in the "Dachau trials" has not yet been settled as it ought to have been. Is it possible that the facts about the trials will after all be made public at some point?

[Answer] The leadership of both the Presidium of the Slovenian LC Central Committee and the Presidium of the Slovenian Republic Conference of the SAWP have called upon scholars to study that period of time from every angle and the causes that led to the "Dachau trials."

[Question] Who is served by the ideas of a "United Slovenia," which in the intonation of certain cultural figures could even mean an alternative to Yugoslavia?

[Answer] I am not aware of any concept of "United Slovenia," which, as you say, certain cultural figures would set up as an alternative to Yugoslavia.

However, I am aware of the concept of a kind of Slovenia which in one form or another has been set up by various political emigres, enemies both to SR [Socialist Republic] Slovenia as well as to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The historical background of the expression "United Slovenia" goes back to the time of the Illyrian provinces, to Presern and the revolutionary year of 1848, and it expresses the aspiration to bring all Slovenes together, along with their cultural and political life. This expression has been used recently in debates about unified Slovenian cultural space. Essentially it has to do with the most harmonious and richest development of the culture of the Slovenian people as an ethnic entity within the framework of a policy of peaceful cooperation, good-neighborly relations and open borders, respecting the principles of active and peaceful coexistence. It is a question, then, of an effort so that national boundaries do not divide us, but bring us closer together, so that minorities--the Slovene minority in Austria, Italy and Hungary, or the Italian and Hungarian minorities here with us--would be a bridge of friendship and cooperation. That is the only deeper meaning and purport of the expression "United Slovenia," rather than in any sort of nationalistic aspirations.

[Question] It probably is possible to use that term in an effort at manipulation.

[Answer] Yes, such manipulations are certainly possible. But I am convinced that no one has so far used that expression in manipulation at the expense of Yugoslav community. In conversations with colleagues from other republics I frequently hear objections to "United Slovenia," this represents a lack of familiarity with Slovenian history. There would be many fewer misunderstandings if each of us had a good knowledge of the history of the other nationalities of Yugoslavia. Then probably the very term "United Slovenia" would be perceived quite differently: there would be much more understanding for the aspirations of the parent nation in SR Slovenia to preserve the integrity of the Slovene ethnic minority in Austria and Italy. And the contribution of Slovenian cultural figures to preserve that integrity is understandable and logical.

[Question] In recent years we have witnessed an aggravation of relations between politics and culture (various cases in culture, trials of writers, and so on). To tell it like it is, we have witnessed a process where a portion of the intelligentsia has turned its back on the party. One of the reasons is probably that in the party there are examples of ignorance of the creative abilities of the intelligentsia. To what extent are the LC and SAWP prepared to overcome that situation?

[Answer] I would not say that any sizable portion of the intelligentsia has turned its back on the LC. But I agree with you that too little use has been made of its creative potential. Will we be prepared to use it better in the future? Certainly! In fact we have to do so if we want to pull ourselves out of the present difficulties. When I say that, I am referring to the technical intelligentsia, not only to the intelligentsia which is active in the field of culture. Of course, we can also find a large portion of the intelligentsia among members of the LC.

[Question] You said in the meeting of the Presidium of the Republic Conference of the SAWP on public information (19 March): "In the last issue of NOVA REVIJA, which appeals to the platform of the Socialist Alliance, there certainly is an evident desire to spread the 'horrible' truth about our society as something which is absolutely supreme and beyond all doubt. How can a magazine publish an article in which the author says that Kardelj's discussion of culture was either a mistake or a clever plan to set in concrete the party's monopoly of power for all time.... But that article was not an exception, but rather the rule in the way the issue was conceived; for example, it also contained assertions that the ideology of the working class is dilettantist, inappropriate, in short, an error...." Following that speech of yours there began to be those who said that the "scenario" of the future of NOVA REVIJA had already been written. Yet in whose hands does that possible "scenario" lie?

[Answer] NOVA REVIJA is itself writing the "scenario" of its future depending on whether it will be willing to remain within the limits of the platform of the SAWP or will continue on the same road as up to now.

[Question] And if it takes advantage of the latter opportunity?...

[Answer] Listen, no one wants to abolish NOVA REVIJA. I consider it to be necessary and worthwhile, and it was in fact created in order to fill a certain empty space in the shaping of the new Slovenian literature. However, the trend toward general politicization of the content has taken NOVA REVIJA to the point where it often uses the method of provocation, and thus in certain articles it truly goes too far: it writes about Marxism as a dilettantist science, it negates our achievements in building the new society.... That is why I reacted in that way in the meeting. Some of the articles frequently contain blanket assessments which are unscientific, undocumented, and quite often they exclude the possibility of any dialogue. Some of those who work for the magazine, a minority in my opinion, are trying to justify their theses about the Stalinism of the LC, about the Stalinism of the exercise of power in the same way that they would like to portray themselves precisely as victims of repression and of that same "terrible" Stalinistic power. This possibly would get NOVA REVIJA abolished, which means that an essentially repressive method would be applied against it, and that would be evidence that the LC is not patient, that it does not favor dialogue, that it operates only from positions of power, and that in the end it always reacts repressively. I think that that road does not lead them anywhere, that in any case it is not the right way toward development of democratic dialogue and a democratic atmosphere in society.

[Question] There are quite a few cultural figures who say that NOVA REVIJA has gone down a blind alley and that not only has its political "activity" been one-sided, but it has not succeeded in laying the foundations for development of a new young Slovenian literature. Has it been left with less room to maneuver after the veils were removed from certain topics?

[Answer] NOVA REVIJA has quite a bit of room in which to maneuver precisely in that field of literature. No one has ever said that they should not be critical. Just the opposite! I am convinced that all well-intentioned and

constructive criticism, that is, criticism which opens up room for democratic dialogue, is welcome in our society, but not that criticism which shuts it off with its intransigent radicalism, which verges on virtual sectarianism. But first those who accuse us of intolerance and Stalinism must themselves give up their own dogmatism, their own intransigent attitude toward the policy of the LC.

[Question] Recently a great storm has arisen over the idea of reconciliation within the nationality.... I have the impression that Spomenka Hribar's statement was not meant to defend and rehabilitate the Home Guards, as it has most frequently been interpreted, but rather her philosophical essay also contains certain conservative ideological premises through ideas about man as the exclusive victim of polarized ideologies (for example, of communism and clericalism in the Slovenia of that time) which do not serve man himself, but those who are coming to power....

[Answer] I am willing to believe that Spomenka Hribar actually did not think of defending the Home Guards, since in the discussions about what she wrote concerning reconciliation within the nationality she herself said that erecting a monument to all those who have died for the homeland is truly just a metaphor and that she was not thinking about actually equating the Partizans and the traitors. But it is possible that the way in which she wrote about the origin of the White Guards in her essay was the reason why this metaphor was taken wrongly. However, she later said that the principal dilemma of that time was between Sovietization with the Partizans or against Sovietization with the Home Guards. At that time there really was no such dilemma; the main dilemma was either with the enemy or against him. After all, the logic of the Home Guards was based on an open alliance with the fascists, and to expect to be able to take power painlessly after triumph over the antifascist forces is at the very least immoral. If everyone had waited for the end of the war and the victory that would come by itself, the question is when the war would have been over and whether the antifascist forces would have had the strength to win. The very act of going over to the side of the fascists and against the OF, that is, against the communists and all the patriotic Slovenes, is a case of treason against the people, and there is no dilemma here at all. The ideological leaders of the Home Guards knew quite well whose blood they were shedding in fighting on the occupier's side. That is why the idea of reconciliation within the nationality could not find fertile soil in Slovenia, and it could have had only fateful consequences; after all, who needs reconciliation within the nationality concerning a past which is polarizing people today? And in the name of what ideas and what kind of humanism can this be done?

[Question] What is your opinion about the numerous and diverse comments from other quarters about "things happening in Slovenia" and about suggestions concerning the "great need for political action to clear matters up"?

[Answer] I do not take seriously the various suggestions that we need to slow down or even put the brakes on the democratic processes in Slovenia. Such tendencies, regardless of where they originate, are dangerous for all of Yugoslavia, not only for Slovenia. The building of socialism and of a democratic direction of its development are two sides of the same process.

[Question] There are those who think that the attitudes of the Slovenian political leadership concerning the YPA are actually being communicated through the youth magazine MLADINA: that there are those who supposedly stand behind the "independent position" of that periodical.

[Answer] The review MLADINA does not have any "independent position" at all. Many good articles have been published in it, but also some which were problematical, which have been criticized within the Council for Information of the Presidium of the Republic Conference of the SAWP as well as in the Socialist Youth League of Slovenia. This also applies to what has been written about nationwide defense, about the YPA, about the military parade, and so on.

The assertion that the Slovenian political leadership is hiding behind such articles in MLADINA is not only tendentious, to put it mildly, but is a tendency aimed at intrigue and speculation. The views of the political leadership of SR Slovenia have been clearly set forth in the documents of the Slovenian LC and they are not any secret to anyone, nor have they ever been the subject of any dispute in Yugoslavia.

[Question] Some time ago Marjan Rozic said in an interview that strikes, for example, occur where self-management relations have not been developed, and in this sense strikes can even be constructive factors for development of self-management in places where it has not developed. I would remind you that university students have also been in a similar situation to a great extent when decisions were being made to protect the student standard of living, steps were taken which the students were unable to influence.

[Answer] Yes, that is the same thing. I have already said that at some particular moment the boycott could also be a radical way of calling attention to a problem: but I am not in favor of a boycott which does not consent to an agreement, I am not in favor of a boycott which becomes a general method of action, which is thought capable of achieving everything, of solving all the problems and of suspending all other structures. That is no longer acceptable.

[Question] Yet it seems to us that a boycott, while it is going on, is just a method of bargaining. There have, to be sure, been extreme views, but by and large the university students had realistic demands for improvement of their status.

[Answer] But what does that mean: we will not pay rent at all for the period from the beginning of the boycott, and it is not certain that we will pay it in advance, and so on. Well, where does that lead? Those are truly extreme positions, and the boycott was actually an expression of those extreme positions, which are untenable and unacceptable in that form. We in the SAWP called attention to the problem long before the boycott, to the fact that scholarships were lagging behind incomes, that there were fewer and fewer university students from worker and farmer families. We warned that we have to study this phenomenon carefully and act accordingly. We were critical of those who reacted to those problems too late....

[Question] What do you think about the peace movement in Slovenia?

[Answer] We must not copy the peace movements in the world. We have to realize where the qualitative difference is. At this point I would not go to the extreme that some people go to when they say we have a good foreign policy in favor of peace and that there is no need to do anything in the area of a peace movement. That is an extreme view. However, there are also those who say: We should take as a model the peace movement, say, in West Germany, and at the same time they do not reflect on the fact that West Germany is a member of NATO, indeed one of the most important members of NATO, that it has a government which supports Reagan's arms race, and so on. Our peace movement would after all have to take all those facts into account, even though the peace movement in West Germany is truly worthy of respect when it comes to warnings about the danger of militarization. Attention should be paid to the difference between the militarization being carried out by the bloc forces, which are following the logic of competition in arms, and that "militarization" which signifies our efforts solely to defend our sovereignty, our independence and our own road! Here again there has to be an essential difference. And now what does that so-called antiparade mean: "we are against militarization, and therefore we are against the parade as well." Fine, such criticism of the parade is quite possible: it could have been different, it might have been less expensive; those are not taboo topics that we dare not talk about.... But why be against the parade? But the world has not come to an end if 150 or 200 young people walk down the street.... I read the news about the antiparade in the DTS [expansion unknown, apparently a national wire service] reports. It seems to me as though the DTS is compiled according to the suggestions of an ABC reporter from America--a textbook for young newsmen: if a bridge falls down, that is an interesting news item, but if a new bridge is built, then that is an uninteresting piece of news. Why do I say that? Because they recorded the news item that between 150 and 200 young people were at the antiparade, but they did not record the news that more than 100,000, mostly young people, looked at the weapons which were displayed in Tivoli. However, I have learned that the top management of TANJUG has itself realized that some of the reports in the DTS have at times been selected too tendentially.

[Question] Without forgetting the real danger of the operation of a political enemy, we cannot but ask ourselves: Is it not exaggerated and indeed even paranoid to say today that a certain segment of university students are only the long arm of Yugoslavia's enemy--when it is well known that that segment is mainly the portion of the student population which has been distinguished by a high level of political awareness?

[Answer] As for the enemy, I always take the view that it should be talked about only in specific terms: specific cases, specific demonstrations, with proof and arguments, without generalities. They are not all clerofascists, all enemies are not this way or that way; there are very few real enemies, and those that really exist should be clearly fingered. I am against blanket assessments, since this is always followed by the danger that you drive into the enemy camp too many honest people who naturally feel offended. Statements like this are made: There are enemies among the writers. But let us say who those enemies are! After all, writers are not enemies; perhaps they are critical, perhaps they are dissatisfied with the situation in our society, perhaps

they have views which are mistaken, but they are not enemies. The same applies to the university students and to all other categories. Let us not create enemies unnecessarily! But we do unfortunately have enemies; that is why that other extreme is not good either, when we idealize, as if we want to prove that there is no hostile activity at all, and then we proclaim every discussion of hostile views to be Stalinism. We live in a world in which the interests of the intelligence services are a reality and in which the interests of the blocs do exist, and Yugoslavia is of interest in that context, and even though the great powers respect us and our policy of nonalignment, there are many forces in those same countries in whose interest it is to increase their influence on Yugoslavia, to get their people here.... That is why we must be vigilant, but that vigilance dare not signify distrust of people. After all, those same people are a part of our front in the struggle for progress, for defense of our independence and freedom.

[Question] Some people have been inclined to associate the peace movement and the specific views of that movement concerning the YPA with the views of the republic leadership as well.

[Answer] Everything that is taking place in the Socialist Youth League of Yugoslavia, the debate about nationwide defense and what happened concerning the parade, has nothing whatsoever to do with the Slovenian political leadership. Wherever such rumors occur--it pursues the direction of what is referred to as anti-Slovenianism--aimed at blackening the Slovene political leadership as much as possible and associating it with everything excessive that happens in the republic. According to that logic we are liberal and permissive, we have NOVA REVIIJA, since we want to have it as a tolerant opposition, we have the antiparade, and so on. These are intrigues, speculations around the facts; we are sorry that such things occur from time to time, but we, of course, realize that a majority in Yugoslavia does not think that way and that these are extreme views. There have indeed been certain mistaken interpretations of nationwide defense and unacceptable views concerning our armed forces, but we became involved in a timely effort to clear up the views in the Socialist Youth League of Slovenia. I personally attended two conferences of the Socialist Youth League where I did not feel comfortable at all in the dialogues that were conducted there, but someone had to go, since we are certain that it would not be good if wrong views concerning nationwide defense and the armed forces were to go any further. I think that at that time we succeeded in clearing the situation up to a great extent, and the comrades in the Socialist Youth League who had advocated certain unacceptable views ultimately did realize that they were taking extremist and unrealistic positions concerning socialization of nationwide defense.

[Question] At one time you expressed reservation about organizing the 1992 Winter Olympic Games in three countries: Austria, Italy and Yugoslavia. Several months later the news arrived that the proposal was after all possible.

[Answer] I was critical about the possible Olympic Games at that time because the matter was still not prepared at that time and because not enough agreements had been reached with all the responsible people in the republic. There are immense costs involved in any such application, and that is why there has

to be some broader democratic consensus; yet that didn't happen, and that is why I said what I did at the time. Aside from that, I said that one cannot be critical toward the Olympics being held elsewhere, say in Sarajevo or Belgrade, and at the same time be in favor of them at home. That is also a kind of nationalism or egoism; to attack others, and to do that same thing yourself. The third part of my criticism had to do with clarifying what it means to have the Olympics in three countries; so that no one would get the idea that Slovenia, which had reservations--at least for a time--toward the Sarajevo Olympics and now also toward the Olympics in Belgrade, is conducting a policy of some kind of Olympic revanchism. And there would in turn be people in Yugoslavia who would say: "Aha, Slovenia is again claiming to join central Europe." That is why the application had to be given thorough thought. However, all of those broader consultations have been conducted; it has been found that this would not involve such great costs since three countries would take part in organizing it, that a large portion of the facilities have already been built, and at the same time there is not really much hope that that application would succeed in the very first round--which means that we have quite a bit of time ahead of us still. There are guarantees that all three countries do actually stand behind the application on behalf of the three countries, and that this is not merely a declaration and a formality. That is why we have no longer been opposing discussions of the possibility of the application, since we have felt that all three conditions which I put in the criticism you have mentioned were fulfilled. Although I personally am still rather reluctant about this idea, since it seems to me that there is now some strange euphoria about organizing various events. All of this is happening precisely at a time when we have great economic difficulties and many serious problems which ought to be solved first. Naturally, I am not against any event a priori; that is, I am not against provided we are completely certain that it can bring a benefit, including a material gain, and not just prestige and reputation. If those conditions are fulfilled, then there are actually no reasons for us not to organize such a large event as the Olympic Games.

[Question] Next year is a year of congresses and elections. What specifically can we expect from the Congress of the LC and what will be the involvement of the SAWP of Slovenia and Yugoslavia during the next year of congresses and elections?

[Answer] To be frank, I expect more from the preparations for the congresses than from the congresses themselves. We will bring about a suitable atmosphere of trust only if before the congress we make a decisive change in direction in the struggle to implement the long-range stabilization program and to strengthen socialist self-management. People do not expect spectacular changes; they only want to halt the "downward slide" and to move forward resolutely. That would be the kind of optimism, the faith in the future, which we have to strengthen in a majority of the working people and in all the nationalities and ethnic minorities. In that kind of atmosphere the congresses will signify a new upsurge to mobilize all the creative forces for the progress of the SFRY, especially to strengthen its reputation in the world.

Everywhere--in all parts of Yugoslavia--we have to rely to a greater extent on our own resources, and that means above all on those who are willing and able to pull the economy out of the present difficulties, which are not at all easy to deal with.

YUGOSLAVIA

CONTROVERSY OVER FOUNDING OF SERBIAN PARTY CONTINUES

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1799, 23 Jun 85 pp 22-24

[Article by Sava Dautovic: "Scholarly Challenges; Old and New Theories"]

[Text] Why, at a scholarly meeting on the Inaugural Congress of the Communist Party of Serbia, did some critical discussions on portions of CPY past national policy attract the public's attention, and why have they already experienced political criticism?

That history has been and has remained a field of eternal inquiry and reexamination was confirmed for us last week at a scholarly gathering in Belgrade which dealt with the Inaugural Congress of the Communist Party of Serbia. The quite natural fear that this gathering might, like many similar meetings of historians, turn into more or less routine arguments typical of anniversaries, and be devoted to reconstructing the act of holding the congress and the origin of the decision to reorganize the CPY based on the national principle, had already begun to disappear from the moment Desanka Pesic, in an introductory speech, stressed the need for a "critical, multilateral examination of this decision, its significance, meaning, and consequences." The fear had completely disappeared by the time participants of the meeting heard a summary of a report prepared in great detail by Ljubisa Ristovic, with the provocative title "'Ugnjetacka' i ugujetene' nacije [The 'Oppressors' and the 'Oppressed' of a Nation]."

Indeed, between these two speeches, the room open for confrontation--about whether the founding of the Communist Party of Serbia [CPS] was "justifiably" or "unjustifiably late," and whether it was late at all, whether the decision on the creation of national parties opened the door to federalization of the party, how this influenced the relationship of class and national components, whether the question of Kosovo's participation in the National War of Liberation and the revolution has become a taboo theme today, etc.--took on a completely unexpected dimension with Ristovic's critical examination of the national policy of the CPY.

Late, or at the Right Time?

Regarding the confusion over whether one can or cannot say that there was a long delay in organizing the Serbian party (formed in May, 1945), and the real

reasons for it, opinions remained divided up to the end and were quite opposed in a somewhat unusual manner. Belgrade historians supported the position that, considering everything, the creation of the Communist Party of Serbia [CPS] was delayed and for this reason a certain injustice had been done Serbian communists. On the other hand, several of the Vojvodina scholars who were present thought that neither the conditions nor the need existed for the party to be formed before it was, and that this delay was not reflected in its operation in any serious way. This kind of diametric opposition did not ensue in most of the reports and discussions, but one concluded from hearing them that we have not yet come to the complete historiographic answer regarding the creation of the CPS.

It is a well-known fact that the Inaugural Congress of the CPS was held after the Croatian, Slovenian (1937) and Macedonian (1943) parties had already been established within the CPY. Besides the Serbian party, the communist parties of both Montenegro (October) and Bosnia-Hercegovina (November, 1948), were founded after liberation.

Blagoj Parovic's well-known explanation, that the CPS was not created at this time because working people in Serbia did not seek it, and that this was understandable because the Serbian people had not been oppressed as a nation (Serbs were the "ruling people"), has not been discussed subsequently in any party forum, so that it has retained the weight of the authentic debate in 1945 at the CPS Inaugural Congress. At last week's scholarly meeting, however, it was noted that the explanation requires deeper Marxist analysis and examination (Vicentije Djordjevic). The opinion was then expressed that regardless of the fact that the military and political conditions for forming the CPS perhaps did not exist in 1943-1944, nevertheless, this was not the primary reason. The primary reason was the lack of a clear concept for solving the Serbian national question and Serbia's prospects as a state and legal community (Desanka Pesic).

The Soviet model, that is, the emulation of the way the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) [ACP (B)] was organized, was mentioned as an important factor causing the congress to be postponed for many years. Someone recalled at this meeting (Branko Petranovic) that the party organization of Russia, as a part of the structure of the ACP (B), was also not organized on the national principle, although it was the largest, and regulations of ACP (B) statutes were valid for it. It was mentioned that something similar could have also been in effect for the Serbian party as a part of the CPY, especially since, in the case of Yugoslavia, the Serbian nation was 16 times greater than the smallest nation in Yugoslavia.

A point of view typical of opinions on the other side of the debate favoring the earlier creation of the CPS was that the question of state and legal prospects for Serbia could not have been perceived for 30 years--at that time the Central Committee of the LCY was preoccupied with breaking up the bourgeois concept of Serbian chauvinism--but was resolved only during the revolution (Ranko Koncar). This claim was preceded by disagreement along with the thesis that the Serbian national question existed during the period between the two Wars, although it had not been brought to the fore. Indeed, it was said that at precisely this time existing negative dispositions of Serbian national interest were able

to prescribe the party to consider whether a national party should have been formed even earlier. Indeed, it is thought that the very existence of Serbian chauvinism must have been an incentive to the party to break up these illusions with an earlier definition of Serbia, by prescribing what was meant by it and what it should represent in the future. This was also referred to when it was pointed out that the propaganda of forces in the Serbian nation with an anticomunist orientation were benefited by the long delay in organizing the Serbian party as a part of the CPY. This propaganda stated that the party had been degraded compared to organizations which had attained a national designation earlier--the Slovenian, the Croatian, and the Macedonian organizations. It was added that it is worth mentioning that the complaints of the Serbian reaction were the opposite of those of other national bourgeoisies which maintained that the CPY was a Serbian party.

Participants of this scholarly meeting paid greatest attention to and felt the greatest need for explanation about the aforementioned Ristovic article, in which the definition concerning the "oppressor" (Serbian) nation was challenged and the program positions and tactical-political determinations of the CPY with regard to the national question were critically analyzed. Finding its model in the conceptual and ideological fund of the Bolshevik party--in which the national question was worked out proceeding from the reality of Czarish Russia, and for which national deprivations were characteristic, together with the absolute numerical superiority of the Russian nation--Ristovic thinks that whether division into "oppressor" and "oppressed" nations was at all scientifically based and applicable to the reality of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes is subject to critical deliberation, taking into consideration as well objective facts of the pretensions of the Serbian chauvinist bourgeois class to implement political and economic hegemony by political coercion, state force, the legal and political apparatus, domination in the armed forces and other means.

Bold and New Approach

Along with extensive debate on the thesis that the Serbian nation could not have been an oppressor and a ruler, the author recalled that in 1929 the CPY was able to learn the lesson that division into "oppressor" and "oppressed" nations was anti-Marxist and erroneous. Because not even the Serbian nation at that time was on the side of dictatorship or identified with it, nor did the "oppressed" nations of their national movements follow the slogans and invitations of the CPY. However, following Comintern orthodoxy, the CPY leadership continued policy adopted earlier even after serious blows directed at the dictatorship, and, as Ristovic noted, only after criticism initiated from the Comintern leadership at their Fourth Territorial Conference in 1934 was it to refrain from supporting some rightist and nationalist currents and seek support in opportunities which were offered by national movements, and orientation on an extensive front in the struggle against fascism.

Calling decisions of the Fourth Territorial Conference concerning the creation of national parties an essential innovation in the national policy of the CPY between the two Wars, Ristovic also questioned some positions, ideas, and determinations, mostly from the point of view of not forming the CPS. According to him, arguing in favor of the founding of national parties, or against the founding of the CPS, merits critical analysis. It has not been done in our

historiography, he said, nor has the validity of arguments for or against this theory been determined. Ristovic thinks one of the basic reasons for reorganizing the party was to adapt to the needs of the national and the classless struggle. And he recalled that well-known explanations explicitly state that the national struggle of the Croatian and Slovenian nations was provoked in this way. According to criteria valid at that time, the Serbian nation solved the national question, and along with this was "ruler" and "oppressor;" the Serbian people themselves, it is explained, did not seek their own national party.

In the opinion of the author of this article, which in many respects expresses a brave and new approach to this problem, this criterion is subject to doubt because it claims that the Serbian nation did not seek its own communist party, without giving any sort of real argument. For this reason, one wonders if this means that the leaders thought that the Serbian masses were subject to the influence of their own bourgeois class, that communist concepts did take deeper root in the Serbian nation. These were, Ristovic maintains, easily expressed opinions which separated loyalty to ideas according to national origins and not according to class and historical interest, which might have connected the Yugoslav people, and which also included within it the national question.

Among the many interesting and original observations which concerned explanations offered at this time on decisions involving the formation of national parties, it is praiseworthy that one was also mentioned which saw in the demand that communists of the Serbian nation in the struggle against their own bourgeois class be faithful in appearing exclusively as defenders of the rights of "oppressed" nations, a deeper implication that the Serbian nation did not seek their own communist party, that it was not "oppressed," that it was a "ruling" nation. Both objectively and subjectively, concluded Ristovic, this might have meant that Serbian communists were not able to oppose the Serbian chauvinist pretensions of the bourgeois class by identifying the Serbian national interest within the concept of federalism which had been decided on by the CPY, as communists of the national communist parties were already able to do.

On the basis of these and other facts, Ristovic said that it is not hard to conclude why, while the national policy of the CPY was being revised during the period 1933-1935, and subsequently, the Serbian national interest continued to find itself on the fringes of the policy and practice of the CPY. At this time, he added, party centralism also made it directly impossible to elaborate the Serbian national interest. Neither objective nor subjective opportunities existed for placing the Serbian national interest at the same level as the national interests and rights of the Yugoslav nations within the policy and program resolutions provided, within the organizational structure of the CPY, in accordance with the cadre composition of the leadership. The program position was that the Serbian nation had already solved its national question at that time.

According to Ristovic's analysis, a qualitative change took place during the armed revolution when Yugoslav nations began to organize as a state what had been parts of the Yugoslav federation. This was particularly noticeable after

the Second Session of the Antifascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia [ACPLY] and the formation of national representative bodies and other bodies. In addition to the Central Committee of the LCY, political and representative bodies of the organized nations of Yugoslav federalism also soon appeared as political headquarters of the revolution. In connection with this, Ristovic closely examined the platform of the CPY's national policy during the war and the revolution, stressing that it is most completely set forth in a text entitled "Nacionalno pitanje u svjetlosti narodnooslobodilacke borbe [The National Question in Light of the National Liberation Struggle]" which was published in December, 1942, by the Supreme Commander of the National Liberation Army [NLA] and the Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia, Marshall Tito. Ristovic noted that this text, among other things, included essential corrections in some appraisals which had been in effect until then, and for the first time, without any reservations, it stated that the Serbian nation had joined the NLA in order to solve its national question in an equal manner together with the other Yugoslav nations and nationalities.

Arguments Against Ristovic's Ideas

Since this report dealt with questions which have not been discussed until now, and since it analyzed and elaborated on the general concept of CPY national policy between the two Wars in a way unfamiliar before now, it was natural to expect that an article such as Ristovic's would encounter critical observations from the participants of this scholarly meeting. Some approached it with remarks and explanations, aware that Ristovic himself was interested in destroying old theories, not creating new ones. Others subjected their positions to a priori political criticism which simultaneously met with the disapproval of those present.

Janko Pleterski considered it important to say that when one talks about the terms "oppressors" and "oppressed" one ought to keep in mind that this is a problem of sociological and political Marxist terminology. He went on to say that the difference between an oppressor and an oppressed nation was not concocted for sake of stigmatization, but because of revolutionary function. Recalling the positions of Dimitrij Tucovic, Svetozar Markovic, and Josip Jurkovic, Pleterski concluded that differentiating these two terms is one criterion for distinguishing revolutionary Marxist conceptions from reformist ones. In his opinion, one must be acquainted with the actual national relationships in prewar Yugoslavia so that one might then find the appropriate terminology, and be able not to say that an open national question did not exist in the country. This historian said that from its beginning, Yugoslavia was a country with an unresolved national question for non-Serb nations. Serbian communists did not have the privilege of struggling for equality for their nation because that nation was not unequal in prewar Yugoslavia. The fascist occupation of the country radically changed the position of the Serbian nation as well, because it also became oppressed, added Pleterski.

For Pleterski, the problem of founding the CPS is part of his general position on the relationship between the proletariat and the nation. He examined the entire problem closely as a part of the general treatment of nations in the Comintern. Indeed, the question of the social significance of nations for the proletariat has not been asked, nor has whether national movements appear only among nations with an unresolved national question. He is also of the opinion

that one should not neglect the influence of the USSR, since there were national parties of all republics in it except for the Russian. This position was subsequently changed and the conclusion was reached that forming national parties was important for the nation, and not only for their position in a complex multinational state.

For Nadezda Jovanovic, everything Ristovic said about national policy of the CPY in the past was subject to the same standard--it was not only an attack on the Party's national policy, but on its policy as a whole.

An article which soon appeared in the Novi Sad paper DNEVNIK (16 June) with the title "Istina probi [Just Like at Rehearsal]" on the holding of this meeting, proceeded along this unconversable line. In it, journalist Tomislav Marcinko declared that Ristovic "stuck the knife of criticism into so delicate a fabric as relations between nations," and in addition to questioning the policy of the CPY as a whole, cast doubt upon "everything which has been studied and published by hundreds of our historians over the last 40 years." In a report from the meeting itself, the same journalist also claimed that it is "quite certain that there will be much more talk about this scholarly meeting at political gatherings. Because many of the questions set in motion deeply encroached on some of today's political confrontations within the CPS and the CPY."

So, unfortunately, someone once again has tried indiscreetly to disqualify politically a well-organized scholarly meeting which was also a legitimate framework for presenting and discussing positions new and different from those with which most people are familiar. Is there then really anything more natural in the study of history than first debating, and then either discarding or verifying, and that above all the judgement of this science be heard!

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